NL. OF TH
ROYAL
SIATIC SO
OF BENG

VOL. 8
1942

LIB. G.K.V.

PR
95015
C125R
V.8

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या R 950·5
पुस्तक संख्या C12JB Vol. VIII
आगत पंजिका संख्या 64324

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना वर्जित है। कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें।

110560

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFRENCE BOOK

एक स्तारीकरण १९८४-१९८५

2 issues

64324

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

LETTERS

Vol. VIII, 1942, No. 1

CHECKED 1973
Initial

SIR·WILLIAM·JONES
MDCCXLVI-MDCCXCIV

CALCUTTA
PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS
PUBLISHED BY THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, 1, PARK STREET

Issued August, 1942

Price Rs. 7-0-0

Officers and Members of Council

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

1942

President

C. S. Fox, Esq., D.Sc., M.I.Min.E., F.G.S., F.N.I., F.R.A.S.B.

Vice-Presidents

Sir John Lort-Williams, Kt., K.C.

The Hon'ble Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law.

S. K. Chatterji, Esq., M.A., D.Lit., F.R.A.S.B.

Meghnad Saha, Esq., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.N.I., F.R.A.S.B.

Secretaries and Treasurer

General Secretary:—S. L. Hora, Esq., D.Sc., F.Z.S., F.R.S.E., F.N.I., F.R.A.S.B.

Treasurer:—C. W. Gurner, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S.

Philological Secretary:—Nalinaksha Dutt, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

Joint Philological Secretary:—M. Mahfuz-ul Haq, Esq., M.A.

Natural History Secretaries:—
- Biology:—Kalipada Biswas, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.E.
- Physical Science:—K. N. Bagchi, Esq., B.Sc., M.B., F.I.C., D.T.M., F.N.I.

Anthropological Secretary:—H. C. Chakladar, Esq., M.A.

Philosophical Secretary:—Vanamali Vedantatirtha, Esq., M.A.

Historical and Archæological Secretary:—Kalidas Nag, Esq., M.A., D.Lit.

Medical Secretary:—J. B. Grant, Esq., M.D., M.P.H., F.A.P.H.A.

Library Secretary:—S. L. Hora, Esq., D.Sc., F.Z.S., F.R.S.E., F.N.I., F.R.A.S.B.

Other Members of Council

S. C. Law, Esq., M.A., B.L., Ph.D., F.Z.S., M.B.O.U., F.N.I.

M. Z. Siddiqi, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. A. Edgley, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, J.P.

L. R. Fawcus, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

PRIVILEGES OF ORDINARY MEMBERS

(*a*) To be present and vote at all General Meetings, which are held on the first Monday in each month except in September and October.
(*b*) To propose and second candidates for Ordinary Membership.
(*c*) To introduce visitors at the Ordinary General Meetings and to the grounds and public rooms of the Society during the hours they are open to members.
(*d*) To have personal access to the Library and other public rooms of the Society, and to examine its collections.
(*e*) To take out books, plates, and manuscripts from the Library.
(*f*) To receive *gratis* copies of the *Journal*, *Year-Book* and *Memoirs* of the Society.
(*g*) To fill any office in the Society on being duly elected thereto.

110560

110560

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

LETTERS

VOLUME VIII

1942

SIR·WILLIAM·JONES
MDCCXLVI-MDCCXCIV

PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS
PUBLISHED BY THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

CALCUTTA
1943

950.5
C12JB

ऋते ज्ञानान्न मुक्तिः
पुस्तक सं०...............
आगत सं०...............
तिथि०...............
गुरुकुल ग्रन्थालय कांगड़ी

DATES OF PUBLICATION

No. 1	..	pp. 1–150	August, 1942
No. 2	..	pp. 151–386	November, 1942

(Volume complete in two issues.)

Plates 1 and 2 to face page 40.
Plates 3 and 4 to face page 136.
Plate 5 to face page 312.
Plate 6 to face page 314.

PAPERS

Page

Bhattasali, N. K.
The Rājavāḍi (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva .. 1
The Rājavāḍi (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, Additions and Corrections 381

Chatterji, Suniti Kumar.
Two Clay Figures of Kesar (Gesar) and Ḥbrug-mo by a Tibetan Artist 313

Chattopadhyaya, K. P.
Dharma Worship 99

Das Gupta, Charu Chandra.
A few Types of Sedentary Games prevalent in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District in Assam 151

Dugin, L. S.
The Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb of Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Ali al-Jullābī .. 315

Gergan, Rev. J. and Rev. Walter Asboe.
A Thousand Tibetan Proverbs and Wise Sayings with short explanations of obscure Phrases 157

Roerich, George N.
The Epic of King Kesar of Ling 277

Roy, N. B.
Jajnagar Expedition of Sultān Firūz Shāh—English Translation and Text of an Extract from 'Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī' .. 57

Sengupta, P. C.
The Gupta Era 41

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Adam's Report on the State of Education in Bengal, 1835–1838. By A. N. Basu 147
A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions. By A. N. Narasimhiah 142
A Pillared Hall from a Temple at Madura, India, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. By W. N. Brown 146
Haidar Ali, Vol. I. By N. K. Sinha 149
Humāyūn Bādshāh, Vol. II. By S. K. Banerji 140
Mārwāḍ kā Itihās. By Vishweshwar Nath Reu 137
The Minister as a King-maker. By Isvara Topa 385

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

LETTERS

VOLUME VIII

1942

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.

Volume VIII, 1942.

ARTICLE No. 1.

The Rājāvāḍī (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva.

By N. K. BHATTASALI.

This copper-plate grant of King Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal has had an unusually chequered history. The salient points of that history are briefly noted below.

HISTORY OF THE FIND.

This single sheet of copper was dug up about 1790 A.D. by a Koṅch cultivator from the vicinity of an old tank and the *Math* on its bank, called respectively Maggi's *Dīghī* and Maggi's *math*, situated on the District Board road running from Kāpāsiā to Rājendrapur Ry. Station,—about 3¼ miles west of Kāpāsiā, and 9½ miles north-east of the Jayadevpur Railway Station on the Dacca-Mymensing Railway line, Dt. Dacca, in the village of Rājāvāḍī.[1] The finder took the plate to Rājā Loknārāyaṇ Roy,[2] the then zamindar of Bhāwāl. His son, Rājā Goloknārāyaṇ Roy showed the plate in about 1829 to Mr. Walters, the then District Magistrate of Dacca. The keensighted Magistrate immediately realized the importance of the copper-tablet inscribed with ancient writing and obtained it from Rājā Goloknārāyaṇ. He then asked Paṇḍit Bhairab Tarkālaṅkār, the Court-Paṇḍit of the period at Dacca, to decipher the plate. The Paṇḍit fared very ill with the unfamiliar work entrusted to him and supplied the Magistrate with a reading, which was almost totally fictitious. Mr. Walters presented the plate to the Asiatic Society of Bengal along with the Tarkālaṅkār's reading. Dr. H. H. Wilson, who was then the Secretary of the Society, immediately gauged Tarkālaṅkār's reading at its proper value, pronounced it as 'exceedingly and unnecessarily defective' and employed three Paṇḍits to prepare a fresh reading. They took great pains and prepared an improved reading, but Dr. Wilson entertained 'strong doubts' about the correctness of even this reading and was not prepared to depend upon the results achieved. But he ascertained by comparison of portions, that it was a much more faithful copy than the one sent by Mr. Walters.

With the help of the version prepared by the Paṇḍits of the Society, Dr. Wilson read a notice of the plate in a monthly meeting of the Society held on the 6th May, 1829, giving all the details of the find and of the attempts at decipherment. Unfortunately, there was no official Journal or Periodical of the Society during this period and thus the Proceedings of this meeting failed to get recorded in any publication of the Society. Dr. Wilson went away to England after 1833 and took over the duties of the Librarian of the India House in London. Presumably, he took away the plate with him for better decipherment and left it at the India House Library. Thus all trace of the plate was lost from the Society, and the notice read by Dr. Wilson in Society's meeting of the 6th May, 1829, was left pigeon-holed to decay in the archives of the Society, undisturbed by any subsequent investigator. The fact of the find of such a plate was thus completely forgotten. Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, General Cunningham, and others who subsequently wrote about the Sena Kings of Bengal, had no knowledge of the find of such a plate, relating to the Sena Kings.

---

[1] The location of the tank can be seen on Fig. D, on p. 16, in the north-east corner of the village of Rājāvāḍī, just on the border of the village, south of the District Board road.

[2] Mr. Walters writes 'Luckhenarian', from which I originally gave the name as Lakṣmīnārāyaṇ. The famous Sannyāsī Kumar Rāmendra Nārāyaṇ one day, in the course of a conversation, corrected my mistake.

One, Babu Nabin Chandra Bhadra wrote a history of the *Parganā* of Bhāwāl in Bengali (*Bhāoāler Itihāsa*), probably about sixty years ago. In this pioneering attempt at writing local history, the find of a copper-plate at Rājāvāḍī in the *parganā* of Bhāwāl is noticed on page 26. It is also recorded there that the plate was sent to the Asiatic Society for decipherment and thence to England.

The present writer long searched for any other notice of this mysterious plate in all possible quarters. In 1920, Mr. J. T. Rankin, I.C.S., the then Commissioner of the Dacca Division and Chairman of the Dacca Museum Committee, handed over to him a volume of a Journal published from London, called the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register, Vol. XXVIII, July to December, 1829, and pointed to a passage in it, containing a notice of the long-sought for Bhāwāl plate. The passage occurred on page 709, under the head 'Varieties'. It was a quotation from the Calcutta Government Gazettee of the first week of May, 1829, and contained a report of the Proceedings of the meeting of the Asiatic Society of the 6th May, 1829. On the basis of this report, the present writer wrote an article entitled—The lost Bhāwāl Copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal'—in the Indian Historical Quarterly for 1927, pp. 89ff. In this article, the report, as published in the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register, was quoted in full and the following points were sought to be established:—

(i) The grant was of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal.
(ii) It was granted late in his reign and the draft was the same as found in the Mādhāinagar grant of the same King.
(iii) The grant was probably issued in the 27th regnal year of the King.

The article was published in 1927 and it is rather curious that, no notice of the grant is taken all the same in the Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, edited by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar and published in 1929, though this commendable publication is otherwise an exhaustive survey of the Chandra, Varmma and Sena inscriptions.

In the Indian Historical Quarterly for 1939, pp. 300ff., Dr. H. N. Randle of the India Office Library, wrote again on the Lost Bhāwāl copper-plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. Directly after he joined the services of the India Office Library, he found in a safe 24 copper-plate inscriptions, one of which was of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva. In his article, Dr. Randle gave a description of the contents of this plate, which served to identify it as the Bhāwāl plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, lost from the archives of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The present writer, thereupon, drew the attention of the authorities of the Society to the fact that the plate belonged to the Society and a claim should be set up for it on behalf of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The claim was accordingly set up and admitted by the India Office. When difficulty was felt, due to war-conditions, in sending the plate from London to Calcutta, Sir John Herbert, our present Governor, volunteered to bring the plate to Calcutta in his personal care. The plate was thus safely brought to Calcutta and handed back to the Society, after an absence of more than a century, and His Excellency Sir John Herbert has earned the grateful thanks of all the members of the Society and all lovers of antiquities for his graceful act.

The authorities of the Society honoured the present writer by entrusting him with the preparation of an edition of the plate for their Journal. Excellent photographs prepared by the Zoological Survey of India and estampages prepared by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, were supplied for the prospective edition; but the authorities, in the face of the bitter memories of the past, were unable to issue the plate to the prospective editor, living at a considerable distance from Calcutta.

In deciphering the plate, I have thus been compelled to rely on the estampages and photographs supplied, which, though excellent in their way, could not be of much help in deciphering the rubbed-off portions. As the funds of the Society were rather low and the authorities were not willing to bear my travelling expenses, I took advantage of a short visit to Calcutta in May, 1940, to check my readings with the help of the original plate and to fill up the lacunae. But the brief visit was too short for clearing up all difficulties, and I have therefore to regret and apologize for the unsatisfactory nature of the reading in at least one *śloka* and in portions of a few lines.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE.

The grant is a single plate of copper, measuring 12″ × 13¼″. A miniature figure of god **Sadāśiva,** the royal *lāñchhana* of the Senas, is affixed to an elliptical projection in the middle of the top-side. The figure of the god is inside a dotted circle, and is 2½″ in length. It is a ten-armed deity and has all the usual attributes of Sadāśiva in the ten arms. The figure has lost its sharpness through corrosion and some of the attributes are hardly recognizable.

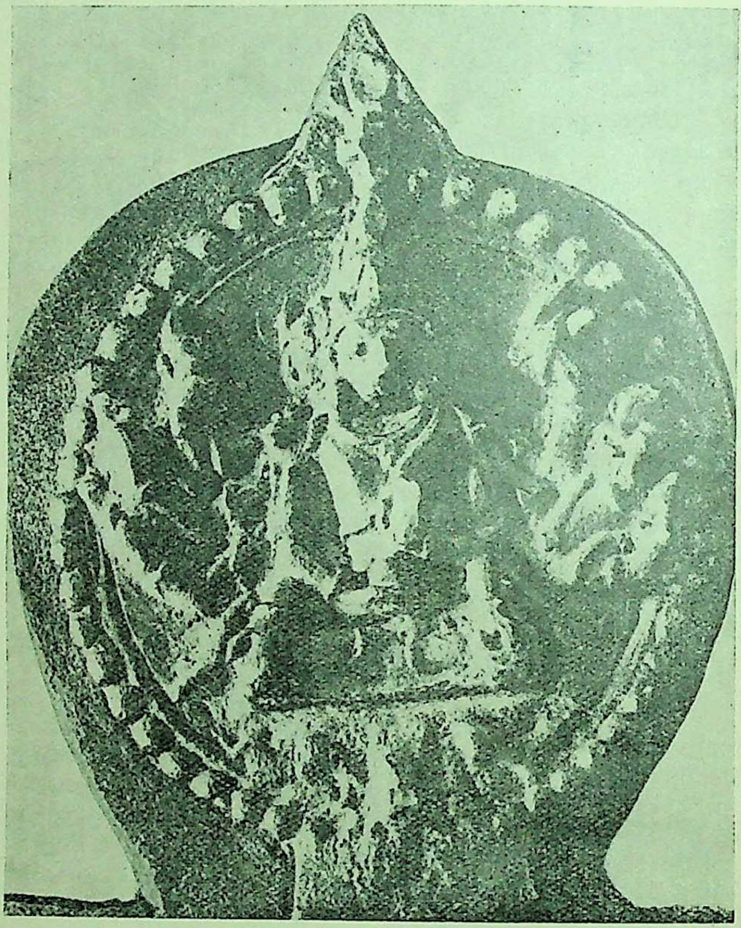


FIG. A. The seal of the Bhāwāl plate.

The inscription has suffered badly in places by corrosion, the effect of which is particularly noticeable on the proper right side of the reverse, where, towards the middle, about a fourth of the lines is practically undecipherable.

The plate contains thirty lines of *Writing* on the obverse and twenty-nine lines on the reverse. The letters are generally about ¼th inch long, and would have been easy of decipherment, but for the corrosion in places. They belong to the proto-Bengali class of writing, to be met with on all the plates and inscriptions of the Senas.

As regards *Orthography*, the doubling of the consonants after a superscript *r* is the most remarkable feature.

The *Contents* of the plate are summarized below.

The plate begins with the spiral *Svastika* sign, explained in my article,—'Some Image inscriptions from Eastern Bengal' (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 352) as representing the symbol called *Āñji* and standing for सिद्धिरस्तु = May success attend. A salutation to the god Nārāyaṇa in prose follows. This is followed by thirteen verses.

Verse 1 invokes the god Siva in his **Umāliṅgana** and **Harihara** forms.

Verse 2 is in praise of the moon-god, from whom the Senas claimed descent.

Verse 3 says that in the lineage of the Moon, were born kings who were great conquerors, as well as performers of sacrifices.

Verse 4 says that in that line and descended from Vīrasena famed in the Purāṇas, **Sāmanta Sena,** a Kṣatriya from **Karṇṇāṭa,** was born, who after conquering all his foes, washed his sword in the waters of the Ganges.

Verse 5 says that Sāmanta's son was **Hemanta,** a hero worshipped by other heroes.

Verse 6 says that from Hemanta was born **Vijaya Sena,** who allowed the epithet 'King' to cling only to the Moon, because he was the progenitor of the family.

Verse 7 says that the fame of Vijaya Sena spread over the three worlds.

Verse 8 says that from Vijaya was born **Ballāla Sena,** who was a king of kings as well as a master-scholar among scholars.

Verse 9 says that he married a Chālukya princess, **Rāma Devī** by name.

Verse 10 says that from them was born **Lakṣmaṇa Sena,** as Nārāyaṇa (Kṛṣṇa) was born from Vasudeva and Devakī.

Verse 11 says of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, that forcible seizure of the fortunes of the **Lord of Gauḍa** was the play of his boyhood; in youth, he was made to imbibe a veritable abhorrence for women by the **King of Kaliṅga** (Orissa); (subsequently) he defeated the **King of Benares** in battle and the king of **Prāgjyotiṣa** (Assam) made him abject submission.

Verse 12 says that even the Lords of the Quarters had submitted to Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

Verse 13 describes the **Capital,** where the mosses played in the shade of the trees of pleasure gardens, and the rice plants shivered among them; where princes gave up their lives but not their honour and round which the king granted villages to Brahmins in thousands.

Lines 25–28. From this capital called **Dhāryya-grāma,** the victorious King Lakṣmaṇa Sena, meditating on the feet of his father Ballāla Sena, thus addresses his royal officers.

Lakṣmaṇa Sena is given the following epithets:—

(i) He had obtained the fortunes of Gauḍa by furiously churning with his arms the boundless sea of war.
(ii) He was the sun which made the lotuses, viz. the heroes to bloom forth.
(iii) He was a devotee of Viṣṇu in his Man-lion incarnation.

Lines 28–30 of obverse and lines 1–3 of reverse, contain the names of the officials addressed.

Lines 4–14 of reverse contain a description of the land granted. It was within the Division of **Pauṇḍravardhana,** the Circle of **Bāṇḍana,** and the Quadrangle of **Vasu-Śrī** and consisted of parts of two villages called **Mādisāhaṁsa** and **Vasumaṇḍana** with four detached plots, south of the **river Bānahāra,** modern **Bānār,** probably not far from the find-place of the copper-plate. The area of the land, when measured with the *Nala* (reed) measuring 22 cubits in length, was six *Pāṭakas,* one *Droṇa* and twenty-eight *Kākinīs.* Its annual produce was four hundred *Purāṇas* (the money unit of those days, equivalent of the modern rupee) to be counted out in cowries.

Lines 15–20 give the name of the donee Brahmin and the motive for the donation. The donee was **Padmanābha,** son of **Mahādeva,** grandson of **Jayadeva** and great-grandson of **Kṛṣṇa Deva.** He belonged to the **Modgallya** clan of the five *pravaras* called **Aurvva, Chyāvana, Bhārggava, Jāmadagna,** and **Apnuvān.** He was an adept in the **Kauthuma** branch of the **Sāma-Veda,** and was a Reader of Holy Texts by profession.

The motive of the grant was to please the god Nārāyaṇa and to secure the spiritual and temporal welfare of the two major **queens Sṛyā Devī** and **Kalyāṇa Devī.**

Lines 20–27 contain injunctions to future kings to respect the grant and some imprecatory verses for those who would nullify it.

Line 28 gives the name of **Śaṅkaradhara,** the **Minister for Peace and War,** who was the mediator in the matter of this grant.

Line 29 contains the usual endorsements in initials, and the date in the 27th regnal year, on the 6th day of Kārttika.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE LAND GRANTED AND OF THE CAPITAL.

Though the description of the land granted contains a number of village-names, it would have been difficult to locate its place on the map, but for the fortunate occurrence of the name of the river Bānahāra in the northern boundary of one of the plots granted. We have no difficulty in recognizing in the name the river Bānār which lies about 3¼th miles to the east of the find-place of the copper-plate.

The entire locality is of supreme antiquarian and archaeological interest, though at present it is so sparsely populated and contains miles and miles of *śāl* (Gajāri) plantations. The area is known to geologists as the Madhupur jungles, though the actual Madhupur jungles lie in the district of Mymensing. The river Bānār, which possesses such a significant name, viz. Bānahāra, i.e., one which steals or drains off a flood (in other words, carries off the spill-water of the mighty Brahmaputra in flood), was surely given this name in hoary antiquity by some keen-sighted observer, because it actually serves this purpose. Starting from the Brahmaputra about five miles below Jamalpur,[1] it runs direct south and skirts the western side of the red laterite formation in the Mymensing district, called the Madhupur jungles. It then turns east and forms for a considerable distance the boundary between the Dacca and the Mymensing districts and then it flows in a south-easterly course to join the old Brahmaputra at Lakhpur and to become practically the upper course of the Śītal-Lakṣyā river. It will thus be seen that there is a considerable stretch of low alluvial land between the Madhupur jungles,—the patch of laterite formation in the Mymensing district, and the Bhāwāl jungles, the laterite patch in the Dacca district. The river Bānār flows east-west over this alluvial divide up to Trimohini, when it turns south, and flows to Lakhpur to reach the old Brahmaputra. The Trimohini-Lakhpur portion of the Bānār forces its way through the Bhāwāl laterite patch and divides it into two almost equal divisions. Both the portions are densely wooded in places and consist of undulating red laterite formations, sometimes rising into picturesque cliffs or *tillāhs*. This section of the Bānār flows through scenery which is mostly hilly in character, the steep red banks sometimes rising to 70 feet above the level of the water in the dry season, while the river itself attains a depth of 40 feet in places.

The two divisions of Bhāwāl separated by the Bānār both contain ancient river-beds, now mostly dried up. Through the eastern division flows the oldest course of the Brahmaputra. Though the main course of the Brahmaputra long ago went off eastwards to meet the Meghnā at Bhairabbāzār, hardly any sanctity is ascribed to this new course. All sanctity still clings to the dried up course, which starts from Ārāliā on the main course, sends off the Lakṣyā at Lākhpur and again deflects eastwards to flow through the *Parganas* of Bhāwāl, Maheśvardī, Sonārgāon, and Vikrampur. The ancient town of Sonārgāon used to stand on this course, and the great annual bathing festival on the *Aśokāṣṭamī* day is still celebrated on its banks, opposite the site of the town of Sonārgāon. The portion of the old Brahmaputra from Ārāliā to Lākhpur was erroneously marked as the old course of the Lakṣyā, probably on some early map of the locality. Major Rennel marks this course as a fairly strong river, but he does not give any name to the Ārāliā-Lākhpur portion. I find that this portion is called the old course of the Lakṣyā in the Main Circuit Map of 1857-58. Probably the mistake originated even earlier. A succession of scholars and investigators has pointed out this mistake again and again; but the Survey Department has, with characteristic apathy to rightful criticism, persisted in this mistake up to the present date.[1] The present writer pointed out this mistake in 1916 to Mr. Ascoli, then Settlement Officer of the Dacca district. Mr. Ascoli admitted the mistake, but was unable to correct it owing to the huge expenditure involved.

---

[1] This most interesting river has not even been mentioned in the Mymensing Gazetteer. Its offtake can be traced to the Brahmaputra through the Police Stations of Muktagāchhā and Jāmālpur up to the village of Dengārgar, about a mile from the bank of the great river.

Two other streams in this region deserve mention. The stream to the east of the old Brahmaputra is called the Pāhāḍiyā river and further east is the Ārial Khān river.

There are a number of proofs to show that this stable laterite region was inhabited from very ancient times. The first proof lies in the nomenclature of the rivers and the villages on their either bank. Village names ending in Śrī are fairly common in this region. One of them Vasu-Śrī, occurs on the present plate. To the east of Trimohini lies the well-known village of Siṁha-Śrī, where a rather large hoard of silver coins of the Sultans of Bengal was found some years ago. The richness of this hoard may be gauzed from the fact that the finder supplied no less than fifteen coins of Danujamarddana and Mahendra (Rājā Ganeś and his son Yadu) to Mr. Stapleton in 1915-16,—coins which are extremely rare and are unrepresented in the otherwise rich Indian Museum Cabinet. Names like Bānahāra (stealer of flood) and Sītalalakṣyā (soother of the eyes) must have been given by literate people with poetic imagination.

The second proof lies in the frequent find of Treasure-troves from the region. The Trove from Siṁha-Śrī has already been referred to. Some years ago, a rather large Trove was found at Marjāl on the bank of the Ārial Khān, consisting entirely

---

[1] As an example of correction in works published by the Government of Bengal, see Mymensing Gazetteer, edited by Mr. Sachse. Ed. 1917-P.-7.

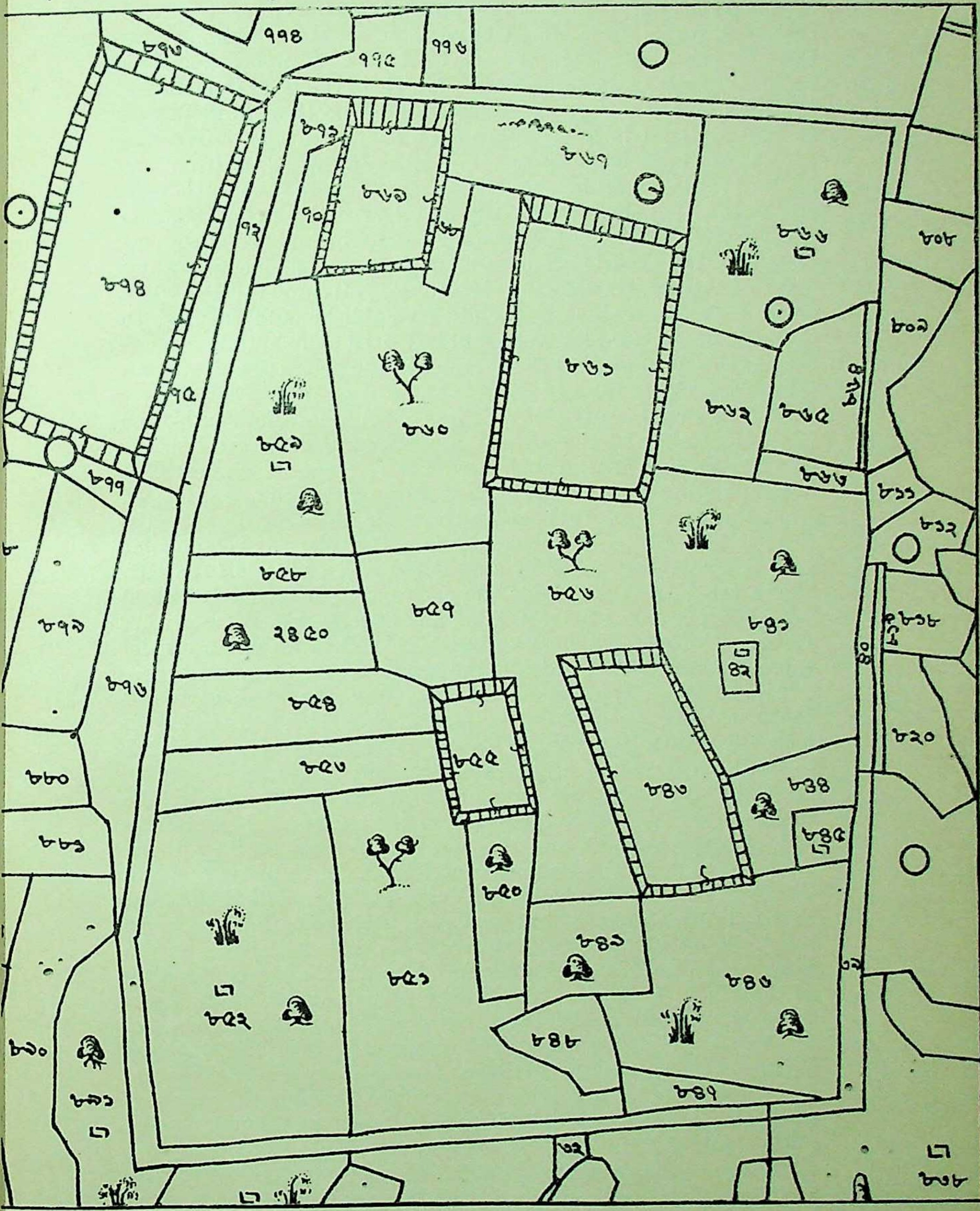


FIG. B. Map of the palace-site at Rājāvāḍī. Scale 16″ = 1 m.

of Mauryya and pre-Mauryya punch-marked silver coins. I succeeded in obtaining about 90 of them for the Dacca Museum through the kind offices of Saiyyid A. S. M. Taifoor, then Sub-registrar of Nārāyaṇganj. Captain Martin of the Royal Engineers, prepared an exhaustive catalogue of the collection, while posted at Dacca, and I hope to publish the catalogue soon. The discovery of these coins of the 3rd-4th century B.C. from the bank of the Ārial Khān shows the early nature of the settlement on the banks of these rivers. It may be recalled in this connection, that the village of Ashrafpur from which the two copper-plates of Devakhaḍga were found, lies only about six miles east of Lākhpur, between the old Brahmaputra and the Pahāḍiyā rivers. The ruins of the Buddhist establishments referred to in these two copper-plates can still be traced at Ashrafpur.

As the third proof, I should refer to the places of antiquarian interest on either bank of the Bānār.

In the mauza of Rājāvāḍī itself, about a mile south-west of the find-place of the present copper-plate, there are remains of a Raja's house, which has given the village its name. The accompanying copy of the mauza map of the village prepared from the survey of 1911–14 on the scale 16″=1 mile will give a good idea of the royal residence. The place is rectangular in area and is surrounded by a moat 704 yds. × 440 yds. in extent. There are four tanks inside the enclosure, measuring 182 × 100 yds., 156 × 66 yds., 100 × 66 yds., and 88 × 50 yds. respectively. Outside the moat, along the northern end of its western side, there is another tank which is the biggest in the area, measuring 242 × 110 yds. The tank of Maggee, near the bank of which the present copper-plate was found is even bigger in area. It measures 340 × 100 yds. This royal residence is associated in tradition with two brothers Pratap and Prasanna, who were Chaṇḍāla by caste and who are reported to have ruled the region as joint rulers. Maggee was their sister. I personally visited Maggee's tank and the mouldering *math* on its western bank in 1920 in the company of Mr. J. T. Rankin, the late Commissioner of the Dacca Division. The *math* had then almost fallen to pieces, but was even then being held together by the roots of the huge *Aśvatthva* trees that had grown on the temple, and held it as if in a vice. The temple was of the style of the Hindu temples of the Muslim period, square at the base, with hanging eves all round, surmounted by a single spire. If Pratap and Prasanna and their sister Maggee had any real existence, they appear to have flourished in the pre-Mughal age. Prabably they went down when the Ghazi family occupied the Bhāwāl region and established their seat at Chaurā, twelve miles south of Rājāvāḍī.

But the discovery of the plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena from the vicinity of Maggee's *math* and the fact that land was granted by it on the bank of the Bānār river, three miles and a quarter to the east, together with the statement contained in the plate under discussion (verse 13) that countless such villages were quickly given away by the Kings to Brahmins in the vicinity of the capital, complicates matters. The presumption arises that these regions were well-inhabited during the period of the Senas and after all, the site of the Rajah's palace at Rājāvāḍī may be older than Pratap and Prasanna of the pre-Mughal period by a few centuries, and may have actually belonged to the Senas. The metropolis of the Senas was at Vikrampur at the junction of the Ichhāmatī and the old Brahmaputra, and all the earlier plates of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, up to the sixth year of his reign are issued from that capital. It is undoubtedly a remarkable fact that the last two plates, viz. the Mādhāinagar plate and the Bhāwāl plate are found issued from a new capital called Dhāryya-grāma. In 1202, Lakṣmaṇa Sena was surprised at Nadia by Ikhtiyāruddin Muhammad *bin* Bakhtiyār, and had to retire to Eastern Bengal, leaving the western part of Varendrī and the northern part of Rāḍhā in Muslim hands. Even before this catastrophe, we find a *mahasāmanta* of his, Dommana-pāla, independently granting land in the southern part of the 24 Parganās, by a copper-plate in 1196 A.D. (I.H.Q., X, pp. 321),—an encroachment upon the royal privilege, which would have been hardly tolerated in the palmy days of Sena rule in Bengal. When the Sena power thus declined and became shaky in Bengal, the old capital might have been considered insecure and too open to a sudden attack like the one on Nadia and a new royal seat might have been established in a more secure and well-protected place. The site at Rājāvāḍī, in a thickly wooded area, with a not-too-powerful river in the vicinity affording an easy access to Assam, the only province in Northern India still then under Hindu sway, was admirably suited for such an emergent capital.

If the traditions recorded in the Ballāla-charita are to be believed, the free-lance Ikhtiyaruddin had a predecessor, named Bābā Ādam, or Ādam Shahid, who made a sudden onset upon the capital Vikrampur in the reign of Ballāla Sena; and Ikhtiyāruddin only emulated his example by falling upon Nadia some years later and carrying it by assault. Ikhtiyāruddin succeeded, but Ādam could not succeed, and his attempt has thus been lost to history. But the mosque built to his sacred memory in 888 H.=1483 A.D. during the reign of Bārbak Shāh just outside the mote of the Ballāl-vāḍī at Rāmpāl, the site of the capital, is still standing. And the funeral pyre (Agni-Kuṇḍa) in which the ladies of the royal household, as well as King Ballala himself, burnt themselves to death, is still shown inside the palace area, on the bank of a small tank. Thus the tradition with regard to this event may have some basis in history. This tradition is remarkably supported again by verse 13 of the present plate, where there is a reference to princes giving up their lives but not their honour, though the applicability of the event to the new capital is not apparent. This event would have been sufficient to make the old capital unlucky and its vulnerability to attack from an enemy was another point against it. The capital thus may have been shifted to the secluded and wooded Bhāwāl region, which had all the advantages detailed above.

This region, in addition was defended by a strong fort. The fort is still known as S̱hāh Vidyā's fort and is situated on the eastern bank of the Bānār, exactly six miles above Kāpāsiā. I visited the site in the company of Mr. Rankin in 1920, and a cultivator told us that an inscribed plate of copper had been dug up within the fort by a man some years ago, but it was thrown into the Bānār through superstitious fear. The discovery of a copper-plate from the ruins would show that the fort dates from the pre-Muhammadan period. But even by themselves, the ruins look very old,—and the outlines have almost been obliterated. The inquisitive reader will find a description of this fort in the well-known work, Taylor's Topography of Dacca, pp. 112-113. In those days, there was constant rivalry between Kings of Kāmarūpa and Kings of Bengal and the necessity for guarding the water-routes leading from the Brahmaputra to lower Bengal will thus be easily understood. It appears clear that S̱hāhvidyā's fort (whoever he might have been) was erected on the bank of the Bānār in pre-Muhammadan days to serve this very purpose. The village on the opposite bank is called Gośiṅgā—(cow's horn), and the river bends here beautifully like the two horns of a cow,—a feature of the landscape which is undoubtedly responsible for this peculiar name of the village. At Gośiṅgā, the ruins of a town are still traceable, remarkable among the works of old being some old mosques and ruins, and two tanks, the bigger of which is $\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{5}$ mile in area. Dr. Taylor in his Topography of Dacca thus observes about these two tanks :—'About two miles inland, there are two magnificent tanks, which are said to have been dug by the Booneah Rajas: they are of great depth and in all probability are supplied by springs' (p. 114).

Two more antiquities of this region deserve notice. One is the huge fort at Egāra-sindhu (sometimes also called Bara-sindhu). It is situated exactly opposite the Brahmaputra off-take of the Bānār river, on the eastern bank of the Brahmaputra, just at the point where it bends eastwards, deflected by the stable laterite soil of Eastern Bhāwāl. The peculiar name of the place is due to eleven streams (*Sindhu*) meeting the Brahmaputra in the locality. The use of the word *Sindhu* in the sense of a river is almost Vedic in date, and shows that the name must have been given to the place during the period when people on the Ārial Khān river, twenty miles south-east, were using punch-marked coins as their silver currency in daily transactions. The fort at Egāra-sindhu is said to have been made by Isa-Khan, Masnad-i-Ali, who ruled all land east of the Brahmaputra and the Bānār like an independent sovereign during the reign of Akbar. I visited the site in 1916, and I found its outlines in as obliterated a condition as those of the fort opposite Gośiṅgā. These forts appear to be pre-Muhammadan in date, and were in all probability set up by the pre-Muhammadan sovereigns of Bengal as defensive works against invasions from the north, though the Muslim sovereigns may have subsequently made use of what was left of them. The fort of Egāra-sindhu occupies a rather extensive area,—very unlike the small forts on the Buriganġā, Śītal-Lakṣyā and Dhaleśvarī which Mir Jumla constructed as defensive outposts against Arracanese incursions, in the early years of the reign of Aurangzib. Three of these Mughal forts still stand almost entire, while the forts at Doordoorea (opposite Gośiṅgā) and Egāra-sindhu can be traced only in their faint outlines.

The last antiquity that I propose to notice here are the ruins at Kapāleśvar,—popularly pronounced as Kapālsahar.[1] These ruins are the remnants of some temples of considerable size, erected in picturesque surroundings in the heart of the red laterite *ṭillās* or hillocks, some five miles south of Egāra-sindhu, on the southern side of the Brahmaputra river. They are situated about four miles south of Ulusarā or Ṭoknagar, both of them well-known villages on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra. I visited the site in 1916, and a note on it was published in my article—‘Notes on Antiquarian Remains on the Lakṣyā and the Brahmaputra’. Dacca Review, Vol. VII, 1917-18, pp. 12ff. The following extracts are quoted from that article :—

‘Kapaleswar . . . is some four miles directly south of Ulusarā, west of Ṭoke.

‘Kapaleswar, as the name implies, must be the ruins of a Saiva temple, and belongs to the pre-Muhammadan period. Four fine tanks, two of which are still deep and retain water, were dug in a line and temples founded on their banks. The northern-most one is the most interesting. Its banks are as high as the ramparts of a fort and on its west bank are the foundations of a big temple, the position of the walls of which are still marked by thick layers of mouldering bricks in a continuous line. Big slabs of stone lie scattered in the compound, as well as on the slope of the banks and the local people affirmed that they had seen several others in their childhood, which have been covered up by silt by this time. The most striking feature of the ruins is the great number of loose bricks. They lie scattered for a considerable distance like a thick layer of big hailstones after a hailstorm. Nowhere in Bengal have I seen such a wild profusion, except in the ruins of Devkoṭ in Dinajpur. The people of the locality are mostly settlers, and they know nothing about the builder of these temples. Only an octogenarian Hajo told me that they had heard from the elders that Ballala Sena was the author of all these works.'

---

[1] The ruins at Padumsahar (Pradyumneśvara) in Rajshahi District may be remembered in this connection.

Thus we see that the Sena association with this area, over which passed the short-cut water-route to Kāmrūp, evidenced by the Rājāvāḍī plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva, is further corroborated by the tradition clinging to the remarkable ruins at Kapāleśvar. We may therefore seriously consider, whether the royal seat at Rājāvāḍī, is Dhāryyagrāma, the hitherto unidentified Jayaskandhāvāra of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, from which he issued at least two copper-plates late in his reign. As already pointed out, verse 13 of the present plate speaks of the King having quickly granted numerous villages to Brahmins near the capital, and the land granted by the Rājāvāḍī plate on the bank of the Bānār river, is only three miles east of Rājāvāḍī.

Identification of the villages granted by a copper-plate is always a difficult task and few copper-plates have turned out to be as helpful in this respect as the Kātwā plate of Ballāla Sena, or the Govindapur plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the villages mentioned in which exist up to the present time almost with unaltered names. The present plate also, as already pointed out, gives us an important clue as regards the locality of the land granted. The river Bānahāra, modern Bānār, flowing three miles east of the find-place of the plate, is spoken of as forming the northern boundary of one of the villages granted. As the river Bānār flows in a south-easterly direction, more south than east, it is difficult to get the river to form the northern boundary of a village, except when it forms a loop and turns directly eastwards. As will be seen from the map of the locality reproduced, exactly this is what happens at Kāpāsiā, directly east of the find-place of the plate. At the apex of the land enclosed by the loop, we find a village called Sāfāi-Śrī. With the rise of the city of Sonārgāon as a Muslim capital by about 1340 A.D., Buddhist and Brahmanical antiquities of this region suffered greatly and names of many villages were changed or Muslimized. The name of the village Sāfāi-Śrī is very curious. The first part of the name is without doubt non-Sanskritic and derived from Arabic *S̲h̲āfāi*, while the second part is without doubt Sanskritic in origin. Is this the changed form of the name Vasu-Śrī, which gave the name to the *Chaturaka* or Quadrangle in which the land granted was situated? For, it is only here that we can get a village, with the river Bānār directly to its north.

The villages granted were in the *Chaturaka* of Vasu-Śrī and in the *Āvṛtti* (circle) of Bāṇḍana. *Āvṛtti* and *Chaturaka* are well-known units of land-division of the Sena period, and they first make their appearance in the land-grants made by Lakṣmaṇa Sena. It is difficult to be sure about the area of these units, but from the order of mention, viz. Bhukti, Āvṛtti and Chaturaka, the last naturally becomes the smallest unit.

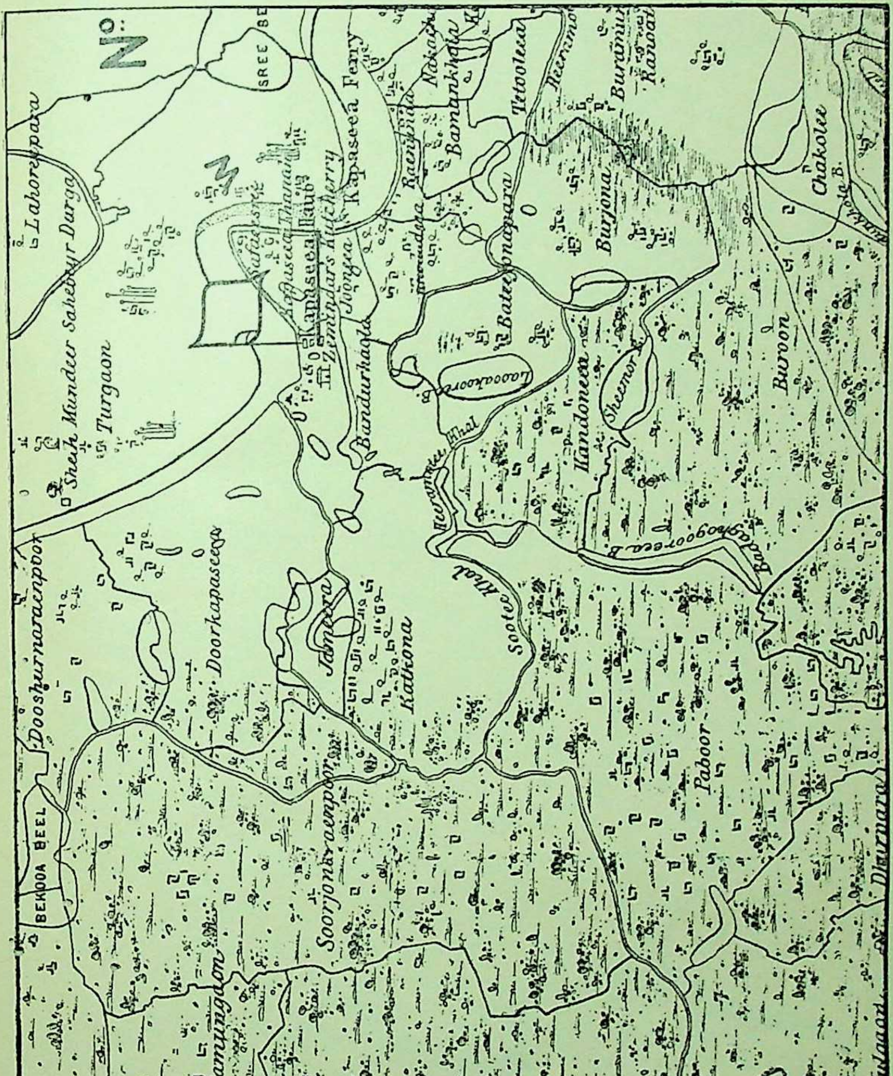

N
Lahorepara
Sheikh Mundeer Saheboor Durga
Turgaon
SREE
Kapaseea Ferry
Kapaseea Thannah
Kapaseea Haut
Zemindars Kutcherry
Joongea
Bandurkhola
Nakatee
Banankhola
Tetooleea
Burjona
Chakolee
Batetonapara
Laooakoora B.
Kandoneea
Sheemor B.
Buroon
Heeramee Khal
Baddagogoreea B.
Sootee Khal
Jamtoora
Katkona
Dooshurnaraenpoor
Doorkapaseea
BEKOOA BEEL
Soorjonaraenpoor
Paboor
Bamungaon
Toynaraenpoor
Jabaree Haut
Rajabaree

FIG. C. The site of the find and the donated land. Scale 1" = 1 m.
From the Main Circuit Map of 1857-58.

The name would suggest that it was roughly a quadrangular area and a number of such quadrangular areas undoubtedly went to form an *Āvṛtti*. The English word Circle exactly corresponds in meaning to the Āvṛtti of the Sena period. But the word circle is applied in different cases, to very unequal areas.

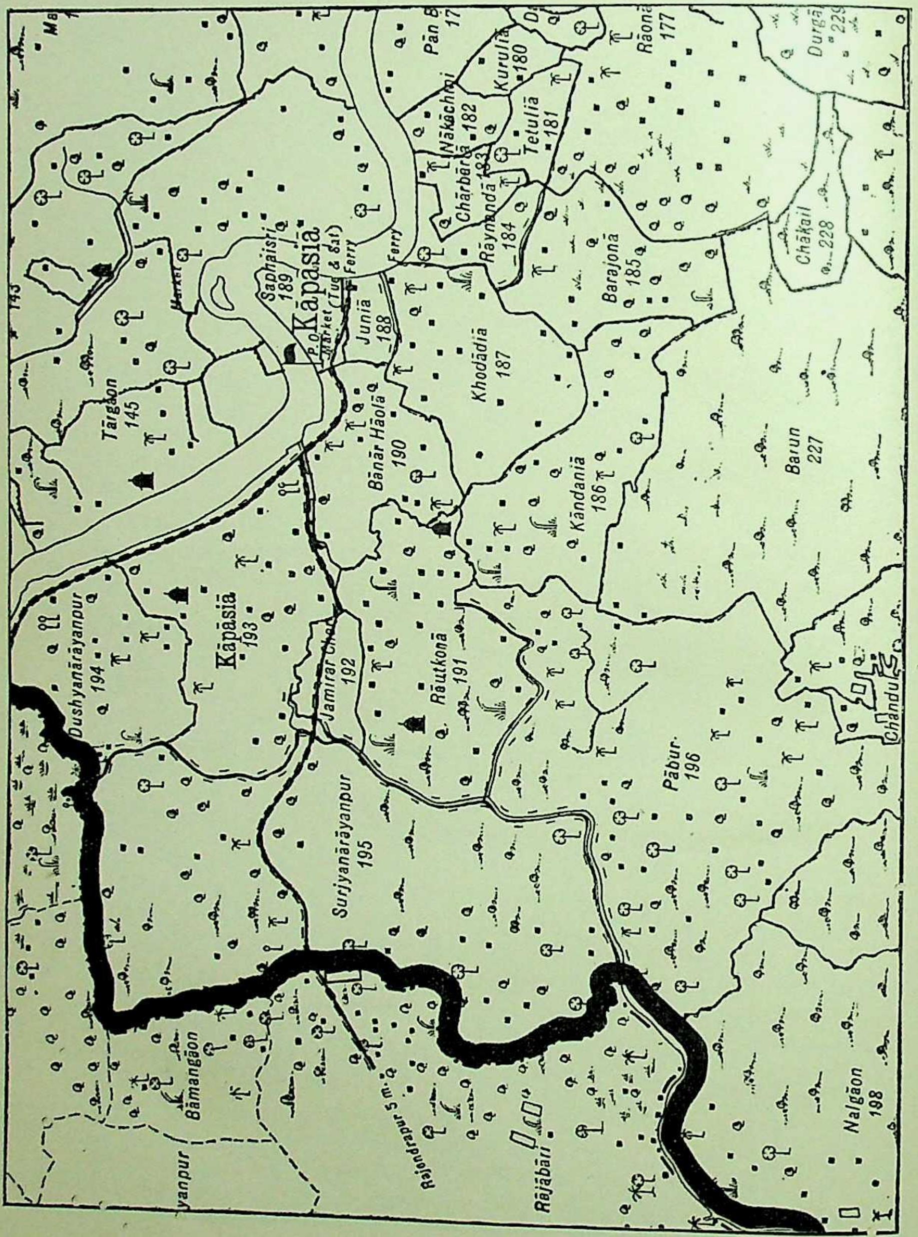

Kāpāsiā
P.O.
Market (Tue & Sat)
Ferry
Market
Saphaisri 189
Junia 188
Khodādia 187
Bānār Hāolā 190
Rāutkonā 191
Jamirar Chala 192
Kāpāsiā 193
Dushyanārāyanpur 194
Surjyanārāyanpur 195
Pābur 196
Nalgāon 198
Tārgāon 145
143
Kāndaniā 186
Barajonā 185
Rāynandā 184
Chārbārā 183
Nākāchhari 182
Tetuliā 181
Kuruliā 180
Rāonā 177
Pān B 17
Durgā 229
Chākail 228
Barun 227
Chāndul
Bāmangāon
Rājābāri
Rajendrapur 5 m.
yanpur

FIG. D. The site of the find and the donated land. Scale 1″ = 1 m.
From the latest Survey Map.

A Circle Officer or Sub-Deputy Magistrate has jurisdiction over a few Police Stations; while the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, has jurisdiction over two provinces, viz. Bengal and Assam. Previous to the reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the units of Land Division were Bhukti, Maṇḍala, Viṣaya and sometimes also Khaṇḍala. We meet with these terms in the land-grants of the Pālas as well as in those of the Chandras, Varmmans and the early two Sena Kings. When in the land-grants of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, we find them replaced by the terms Āvṛtti and Chaturaka,—it is only reasonable to conclude that Āvṛtti stands for Maṇḍala, and the two terms have the same meaning. *Chaturaka* would thus be a synonym for Viṣaya or Khaṇḍala. It should be made clear here that the use of the term Viṣaya in the sense of a very much larger-area equivalent to a modern district, is also familiar. Viṣaya in the sense of a much smaller unit and its equivalent Chaturaka would appear to be represented in the modern Revenue unit called *Tāluk.*

In the case of the present grant, if Sāfāi-Śrī is the modern representative of Vasu-Śrī, the big village of Bārun, about four miles south of Sāfāi-Śrī may stand for Bāṇḍana, after which the Āvṛtti was named.

Two villages called Vāsumaṇḍana and Mādisā-haṁsa were granted by the present plate, along with some detached plots from contiguous villages. In the absence of complete and convincing agreement in names, speculation regarding the modern representatives of these villages is of little use. I would all the same refer the reader to the two maps of the locality reproduced and would point out, that the village Bānār-Hāolā would answer to the likely position of Vāsumandana and Māndā (Roy Manda) to the likely position of Mādisā-haṁsa. The large village of Khodādia would answer to the position of the village of Jaladāṇḍi, which is named as the boundary of both the villages granted.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PLATES.

(1) *The contributions from the Mādhāinagar Plate.*

As made out in the first section, the present plate is almost a replica of the Mādhāinagar plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena discovered at Mādhāinagar in the Pabna district. No attempt has yet been made to glean all facts of historical importance from the plate, and such an attempt is made below. Unfortunately, that plate is also very much corroded. Sj. Prasanna Nārāyaṇ Choudhury's reading of the plate published in 1899 in Vol. I, pp. 92–94, of the now defunct Bengali Journal *Aitihāsik Chitra,* was the first serious attempt at a correct decipherment. Mr. R. D. Banerji's reading published in the J.A.S.B., 1909, pp. 467ff., contained little improvement. Mr. N. G. Majumdar, in his edition of

FIG. D. The site of the find and the donated land. Scale 1″ = 1 m.
From the latest Survey Map.

the plate in his 'Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III', pp. 106ff., made a few improvements, but still obvious mistakes were left uncorrected. At my request, Mr. T. N. Rāmachandran, M.A., Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, lately sent me three excellent sets of estampages of the plate. In checking the reading of the plate with their help, I have succeeded in finding a few important facts, which baffled the previous editors. This important plate has never been properly illustrated; the illustrations published with Mr. Banerji's article are reproductions of photographs and are thus too blurred to be of any practical use. I am sure that a fresh edition of the plate, accompanied by proper illustrations, would be welcome to all scholars.

In the earliest dependable edition, Mr. Choudhury correctly stated that the reverse contained 30 lines. Mr. Banerji first made the mistake of stating that both the faces contained 29 lines of writing and Mr. Majumdar repeated the mistake. In fact, the obverse does contain 29 lines, but the reverse has 30 lines inscribed on it. This erroneous dropping out of the last line of the reverse has been very unfortunate indeed, because the date of the plate is usually contained in the last letters of the last line. From the estampages so kindly supplied by Mr. Ramachandran, I was easily able to ascertain the existence of this 30th line, and I believe I have succeeded in reading the date also.

The 30th line, like the three previous lines, is very much corroded. But on the analogy of the present plate, the date can be made out with more or less certainty as '*Saṁ* 25 *Bhādra Di*– –'. The last two letters are broken away and lost, taking away *ne* and the figure or figures for the day. In the regnal year, the figure for 2 is sure. The second figure, though made very hazy through corrosion, can be read as nothing else than 5.

We thus realize that the Mādhāinagar plate has not really lost its date, but is a dated document. It was issued in the 25th year of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. The year of accession of Lakṣmaṇa Sena is now fairly well-established. Prof. Chintāharaṇ Chakravarty in a short, but valuable, contribution on the subject, in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. III, pp. 186ff., made out that Lakṣmaṇa Sena came to the throne in 1178 A.D. This was supported by astronomical calculations by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit (*Epigraphia Indica*, XXI, pp. 215-16, Editorial Note. Also Annual Report, Arch. Survey, 1934-35, p. 69). The 25th regnal year thus falls in 1203 A.D. The date of Ikhtiyāruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyār's invasion of Nadia and consequent Muslim occupation of the north-western part of Bengal was fixed as 1202 A.D. by myself. (Determination of the Epoch of the Parganāti Era. *Indian Antiquary*, 1923.) It thus becomes clear that the Mādhāinagar plate was issued in the year following the disaster.

This is strangely confirmed by the contents of the plate itself, the purpose of which has baffled all scholars up to the present time. The plate states that in that year, on the 27th day of *Śrāvaṇa*, certain religious rites were performed by Govindadevaśarman, the priest in charge of *Sāntyāgāra* (House of Propitiation). Mr. Majumdar reads the passage as follows:—

L. 49............सप्तविंश श्रावण दिवसे...पूर्व्वकमूलाभिषेकः

L. 50............ऐन्द्री महाशान्ति...तगति...शिकादि...
उत्सृज्याचन्द्रार्कक्षिति

L. 51. समकालं..................

With the help of the estampages supplied by Mr. Ramachandran, I can improve the reading thus:—

सप्तविंश श्रावण दिवसे अक्षतपूरकमूलाभिषेकः.....

It would appear thus that the rites were meant to correct some defects in the original coronation ceremony and for the performance of the Grand Propitiatory Rite called *Aindrī*. What this rite was, no one has yet attempted to understand. Mr. Majumdar laconically remarks (p. 108)—'*Aindrī Mahāśānti* cannot be explained'. He probably did not realize that by failing to explain the term, he missed the whole purpose and historical importance of the plate.

It is only common sense to hold that the purpose of the Great Propitiatory Rites named after Indra must be to avert some misfortune or recurrence of some misfortune already suffered. As such, I thought, they are likely to be named and described in the great compilation by Ballāla Sena Deva, called *Adbhutasāgara* (i.e. an ocean-like compendium of strange happenings), which deals with all peculiar happenings and portents, and their remedies. A good edition of the work was published by the Prabhakari and Co. of Benares Cantonment in 1905 under the editorship of Paṇḍita Muralidhar Jhā, Jyautiṣāchāryya and my friend Mr. Pratap Chandra Barat, Teacher, Bulandshahar Govt. High School, had very kindly presented me with a copy. It is an extremely interesting work and in the preliminary discourse, it is stated that the work was begun by Ballāla Sena in Saka 1089 and was left incomplete at death. His son Lakṣmaṇa completed and published the work. In the last part of the work, presumably compiled and added by Lakṣmaṇa Sena himself, a passage on strange happenings and propitiatory rites for them is quoted from the *Matsya-Purāṇa*. The passage is found in the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Matsya-Purāṇa* also, Ch. 228, pp. 814; but unfortunately, there is some confusion in the reading. In the *Adbhutasāgara* also, as edited by Sj. Muralidhar Jhā, the passage has suffered some confusion. But the lines about the *Aindrī Mahāśānti* can easily be reset correctly. The passage occurs on p. 733 of this edition of the *Adbhutasāgara*. After dealing with various misfortunes and their remedies, it has the following two lines:—

भविष्यत्यभिषेके च परचक्रभयेषु च ।
स्वराष्ट्रभेदेऽरिवधे ऐन्द्री शान्तिस्तथेष्यते ॥

Translation: In coronation ceremonies, when invasion from an enemy state is apprehended, when one's own kingdom is divided or torn asunder, and for killing one's enemies, the Propitiatory Rite called *Aindrī* is prescribed and desired for.

The performance of the *Aindrī Mahāśānti*, for the *Dakṣiṇā* of which villages were granted by the Mādhāinagar plate, is a clear indication of the fact that the kingdom of Lakṣmaṇa Sena had suffered lately from a disastrous invasion by an enemy, who had probably wrested a large portion of it. This can only refer to the invasion of Bengal in the year 1202 A.D. by Ikhtiyāruddin Muhammad, and the loss of the north-western corner of the kingdom to the enemy.

The course of events can now be clearly traced. It was shown in my article on the Parganāti Era (*Indian Antiquary*, 1923) that the years of the Era were *Kārttikādi* ones and it began in 1202. Thus presumably the invasion took place after the cessation of rains in the month of *Kārttika* of 1202. Lakṣmaṇa Sena, then probably in the 80th year of his age, retired to Eastern Bengal with his Court and shifted his capital to Dhāryya-grāma on the Lakṣyā, on the road to further retirement to Kāmarūpa, if necessary. On the 27th of *Śrāvaṇa* next, the propitiatory rites were performed in 1203 A.D., the 25th regnal year. In *Bhādra* the copper-plate was issued. In defiance of the invaders, and also probably with a grim humour, as if to test the efficacy of the rites performed, the villages were granted almost on the border of the limit of Muslim occupation.

The geographical position of Mādhāinagar, the find-place of the plate, should be clearly comprehended. Sara-Sirajganj Railway is well-known. Chāṭmohar is a well-known place on the line, though the railway station that goes by the name is about 3 miles south of real Chāṭmohar. About 16 miles direct north of Chāṭmohar is Tārāsh inside the eastern slope of the famous depression known as the *Chalan Bil*. Tārāsh is well-known for its munificent zamindar family, and the road from Chāṭmohar to Tārāsh forms practically the eastern bank of the *Chalan Bil*. Mādhāinagar is five miles north-east of Tārāsh. It is about 24 miles direct west of Sirajganj. Looking from the Rajshahi side, it can be said that *Chalan Bil* is reached by travelling 16 miles direct east of Nāṭore, and across the *Chalan Bil*, Tārāsh is exactly 24 miles direct east of Nāṭore.

64324

The Mādhāinagar plate grants the village of Dāpaniya in the **circle** of Kāṇṭāpura, within the region of the lake Rāvaṇa, in Varendrī, in the Bhukti of Pauṇḍravardhana. Kāṇṭāpura is probably to be identified with the well-known village of Kāṇṭābāri, inside the *Chalan Bil* area on the western limit of the Tārāsh P.S. and on the border of the Rajshahi district. Curiously, the *pargana* round Kāṇṭābāri is still known as Kāṇṭār-mahal, and this would suggest that it is probably identical with the old *Āvṛtti* of Kāṇṭāpura. The find of a village called Dāpaniyā in the locality would have confirmed the identification, but though the name appears to be rather common in Pabna district,[1] I find no Dāpaniyā near Kāṇṭābāri. Small villages often get merged into big *mauzas* and are thus left unnamed on the Settlement maps.

The mention of a lake in the locality to which the name Rāvaṇa is given is interesting. It would appear to be the name by which the fast silting up lake *Chalan Bil* was known in those days.

About two miles north of Mādhāinagar lie the remarkable ruins of a considerable town at Nimgāchhī. At this place and at Gotithā and Khīrtalā close on the north, there are dozens and dozens of big tanks in close groups, some of them about half-a-mile long, a sure indication of the existence of an old town round them. Numerous sculptures and mounds lie scattered about and await exploration. The place very much deserves detailed inspection by the Archaeological Survey. Tradition connects the ruins with one Achyuta Sena of the Sena dynasty. It is quite possible that the place was made in those days a strong outpost against Muslim aggression and expansion.

(2) *Facts from the Bhāwāl plate.*

(*a*) The queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

The present plate mentions two queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena by name, viz., Sṛyā Devī and Kalyāṇa Devī.

The Mādhāinagar plate appears to mention another queen. On line 49 of the reverse, in Mr. N. G. Majumdar's edition, the reading accepted is:

मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये..........

But the correct reading would appear to be

सुश्रीदेव्यारात्मनश्च.........

---

[1] I have succeeded in seeking out three Dāpaniyās in the district. One is a well-known village on the road from Pabna to Sara bridge about 7 miles west of Pabna. Another is 11 miles north-east of Bah[illegible] in the Thana of Atghariā. The third is 5 miles north-east of Faridpur (Banwārinagar) and 5 miles north of Demrā, a well-known place, P.S. Faridpur, Dt. Pabna.

110560

R
950.25
C127B
Vol. VIII

The first four letters may be मह्वादेव्या also, but as far as I can make out through bad corrosion, these appear to be सुश्री देव्या. I am inclined to think that we get the name of a queen of Lakṣmaṇa Sena in सुश्री देवी.

Three plates of the sons of Lakṣmaṇa Sena have hitherto been discovered, viz., the Idilpur plate of Keśava Sena, the Madanpāḍ plate of Viśvarūpa Sena and the Sāhitya Pariṣat (Vikrampur-Madhyapāḍā) plate of Viśvarūpa Sena. In the first, Keśava's mother is named ताड़ा देवी. In the second, Viśvarūpa's mother is also ताड़ा देवी; but in the third, Viśvarūpa's mother is अक्कणा देवी। (*E.I.*, XXVI, p. 9, Dr. Chakravarti's note on f.n. 4). It is only common sense to hold that a man cannot have two mothers, but this is hardly the place to solve the mystery. It will suffice for our present purpose, if we hold that we get the names of two queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, viz., ताड़ा and अक्कणा from these records. So, we learn the names of at least five queens of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, viz., सुश्री (?), ष्टया, कल्याणा, ताड़ा, अक्कणा.

(*b*) The Sāndhivigrahika.

The name for the minister for peace and war is given as Saṅkaradhara. From resemblance in name, he would appear to be a brother of Umāpatidhara, the famous poet and courtier of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

(*c*) Date of the plate.

It is now clear that Lakṣmaṇa Sena survived the invasion of Ikhtiyāruddin and the consequent loss of the north-western portion of his kingdom by at least three years. The *Kārttika* of the 27th regnal year would be equivalent to October-November of 1204 A.D. The fact that Śrīdhara Das's *Saduktikarṇṇāmṛita* was compiled in 1127 Śaka in the 27th regnal year of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, is now confirmed by the Bhāwāl plate. How long the king survived (he was probably about 83 in his 27th regnal year) it is impossible to know. But the extraordinary number of endorsements on the plate would suggest that the donee did not feel secure of his grant without them, as the king was very near his end. The first endorsement is *Śrī-ni*. This probably refers to the deity, who is a witness of all transactions. The next is *Mahāsāṁ-ni*, evidently the endorsement of the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*. The next is *Srimadrāja-ni*, an extraordinary endorsement from the king himself, absent in any other previous record. But it is difficult to understand what the next endorsement—'*Śrī-Madana-Śaṁkara-ni*' is, as Madana-Saṁkara is the *viruda* or title of the king himself. The final endorser *Sāhasamalla* is probably none else than the crown prince himself.

(*d*) Historical events referred to in the plate.

The following historical facts are referred to in the Bhāwāl plate:

1. The play of his youthful days was the forcible seizure of the fortunes of the Lord of Gauḍa. By कौमारकेलि, it is reasonable to hold that we should count the feats of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, between his 15th and 20th years. In the Deopāḍā inscription, Vijaya Sena, grandfather of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, claims to have put the Lord of Gauḍa to flight. Vijaya Sena reigned approximately from 1095–1160 A.D. His son Ballāla reigned from 1160–1178 A.D. Ballāla is described in the *Adbhuta-sāgara* as the king whose powerful arms were like posts to which the Elephant, namely the lord of Gauḍa, was tethered. There are proofs to hold that Govinda Pāla, the last king of the Pāla line, was finally defeated by Ballāla Sena, and his kingdom occupied in 1161 A.D. Vijaya Sena also must have wrested a considerable portion of Varendrī from the Pālas, as the site of his famous temple of Pradyumneśvara, about 7 miles west of the present town of Rajshahi shows. As a *Kumāra* or young prince of 20, Lakṣmaṇa Sena appears to have fought in this campaign against the Lord of Gauḍa. This campaign may be dated in about 1140 A.D.[1]

2. The next claim on behalf of Lakṣmaṇa Sena is his propitiation by the king of Kaliṅga, when he was a full-grown youth, i.e. when he was about 25. Vijaya claims to have driven away the king of Kāmarūpa and quickly conquered the king of Kaliṅga. Here again I am inclined to take these occurrences in Kaliṅga to have taken place during the Kaliṅga campaign in the reign of Vijaya Sena, about 1145 A.D.

3. Next, Lakṣmaṇa Sena is claimed to have defeated the king of Kāśī in battle. This must be a clear reference to the conflict of the Senas with the Gahaḍwārs of Kanauj. After Ballāla's final conquest of the remnant of Varendrī and of Bihar from Govindapāla, the last of the Pāla line, in 1161 A.D., the Gahaḍwār and Sena power came into violent conflict. The Gahaḍwār king Vijaya Chandra, son of the famous Govinda Chandra, came to the throne in 1154 A.D. and reigned up to

---

[1] In *I.H.Q.*, XVII, pp. 207ff., I have shown that this encounter between the Pālas and the Senas took place in 1140 A.D. at Nimdighi, 26 miles direct north of Pradyumneśvara, and in this battle Gopala III lost his life.

1170 A.D. The reign of his son Jayaccandra extended from 1170 to 1193 A.D., when he fell in battle with the Muslims. It is impossible to say with whom Lakṣmaṇa Sena came into conflict but it is fairly clear that the results, in spite of the claims of Lakṣmaṇa Sena and the boast of his sons, were not altogether favourable to the Senas. The Sena hold over Bihar was not strong and the conflict turned it into almost a no-man's-land, which made it such an easy prey to the invasion of Ik͟htiyāruddin.

4. The next feat of Lakṣmaṇa Sena claimed is the abject submission of the king of Prāgjyotiṣa or Assam. The Mādhāinagar plate further confirms it by adding an epithet—विक्रमवशीकृतकामरूप,—one who had subdued Kāmarūpa (Assam) by his valour. It is possible that this also refers to the conflict with Kāmarūpa in the reign of Vijaya Sena, of which we have references in the Deopāḍā inscription of Vijaya Sena, as well as in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva, with claims of victory from both the sides. If it relates to any subsequent campaign, we possess no other reference to it.

5. A most significant epithet in the Bhāwāl plate applied to Lakṣmaṇa Sena is the one which says that he obtained (recovered?) the royal fortunes of Gauḍa by furiously churning with the Mandara of his own arms the endless sea of war. This sounds like an intimate personal experience and is not probably a reference to his कौमारकेलि in the reign of his grandfather. This, occurring in the plate of a king who is definitely known to have been ousted from Bihar, western part of North Bengal and northern part of West Bengal by Ik͟htiyāruddin, would suggest that he did put up a fight for his kingdom and finally retained what portion of it he could. It would appear from this that the accounts of Ik͟htiyāruddin's invasion of Bengal, as recorded in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, have to be supplemented in the light of this epithet. The challenging grant of land by the Mādhāinagar plate in Varendrī, only ten months after the deplorable sack of Nadia, almost on the fringe of the limit of Muslim conquest; the ruins in its vicinity traditionally connected with the name of one Achyuta Sena; the undeniable arrest of any further progress of Muslim conquest in Bengal; the crushing disaster to Muslim arms in Kāmarūpa on the 7th March, 1206,[1] involving the fortunes of Ik͟htiyāruddin in utter ruin;—all these would signify, that the Senas of Bengal did make a stand against Muslim aggression which had overwhelmed the rest of Northern India, and that successful stand did stem the tide for about a century.

---

[1] 'Muhammad-i-Bakhtiyar's invasion of Tibet' by myself, *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, pp. 49ff.

I edit the plate from the photographs and estampages supplied by the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.[1]

TEXT

OBVERSE

L. 1. ? ॐ नमो नारायणाय ॥
यस्याङ्के[1] शारदम्बुदोरसि तडिल्लेखेव गौरी प्रिया
देहार्द्धेन हरिं समाश्रितमभूद्यस्याति-
L. 2. . . . . चित्रं वपुः ।
दीप्तार्कद्युतिलोचनत्रयरुचा घोरं दधानो मुखं
देवत्रांस[2] निरस्तदानवगजः पुष्णातु पञ्चाननः ॥ [1]

Notes:—(1) Metre—*Śārddūlavikrīḍita.*

(2) M reads त्रास, but the reading adopted is clear on the present plate. Dr. Randle (*E.I.*, XXVI, p. 5) adopts the reading देवस्त्वांस.... But in benedictory addresses, it is customary to refer to the addressee in the plural as वः or युष्मान् । The verb त्रंस means 'to shine'.

Translation:

May success attend. (Expressed by a symbol.) *Om* Obeisance to Nārāyaṇa.

May the five-faced god (Śiva) advance (our affairs), on whose lap is his beloved Gaurī like a streak of lightning on the bosom of the autumn clouds; whose person assumed variegated appearance by holding (the god) Hari by a half of his body; who holds faces which are awesome with the brilliance of three eyes resplendent like suns; and who makes the gods shine and is a subduer of the demon Gaja. [1]

स्वर्ग-
L. 3. ङ्गा[1] जलपुण्डरीकममृतप्रापार[2] धारा गृहम्
शृङ्गारद्रुमपुष्पमीश्वरशिखालङ्कारमुक्तामणिः ।
क्षीराम्भोनिधिजो-

---

[1] After my article had been submitted to the R.A.S.B. for printing, Dr. Randle's edition of the plate came out in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 1ff. In addition to checking with the help of the estampage of the Mādhāinagar plate so kindly supplied by Mr. Ramachandran, my edition has therefore the advantage of a comparison with Dr. Randle's reading. Differences are noted in the footnotes. I am glad to find that Dr. N. Chakravarti, editor of the *E.I.*, suggested many improvements which tally with my readings. Dr. Chakravarti's valuable suggestions have enabled me to improve my readings in some important passages.

L. 4. वितं कुमुदिनीवृन्दैकवैहासिको [3]
जीयान्मन्मथराज्य [4] पौष्टिकमहाशान्तिद्विजश्चन्द्रमाः ॥ [2]

Notes:—(1) Metre—*Śārddūlavikrīḍita.*

(2) M reads प्रादार । But the reading here is clearly प्रापार । R reads प्रावार but the 2nd letter cannot be read anything else than प or य । अमृतप्राप gives good sense. I find from the estampage of the Mādhāinagar plate that the reading there also is प्रापार ।

(3) M reads वैहासको, but the reading वैहासिको is clear on the estampage.

(4) M reads राज, but राज्य, is clear on the estampage.

Translation:

May that moon-god prosper, who is a lotus in the waters of the Heavenly River; who is the reservoir of (i.e. from which flow) the streams that scatter nectar; who is the flower of the tree of love; who is the jewel on the crest-ornament of the lord Śiva; who took his birth from the Kṣiroda Sea; who is the only cheerer of the whole lot of water-lilies and who is the priest performing the great propitiatory rites for increasing the bounds of the kingdom of Love. [2]

त्रिभुवन [1] जयसम्भृ-
L. 5. तानु [2] क्लृप्तैः
क्रतुभिरवारित [3] सद्मनोऽमराणाम् ।
अजनिषत तदन्वये धरित्री-
वलयविशृङ्खलकीर्त्तयो नरेन्द्राः ॥ [3]

Notes:—(1) Metre—*Puṣpitāgrā.*

(2) M reads अव and the reading there is without doubt अव । But it is clearly अनु here. R reads अर्थ—which is not warranted by the estampages.

(3) M reads अबाधित, but the reading there, as here, is without doubt अवारित, as noted by the editor, *E.I.*

Translation:

In his (moon's) lineage were born kings whose fame had run riot over the orb of the earth; kings, who had made the residence of the gods open to them by the performance of sacrifices which were caused by, and followed, their conquest of the three worlds. [3]

L. 6. पौराणीभिः [1] कथाभिः प्रथितगुणगणो वीरसेनस्य वंशे
कर्णाटक्षत्रियाणामजनि कुलशिरोदाम

L. 7. सामन्तसेनः ।
कृत्वा निर्व्वीरमुर्व्वीतलमपि न तरां [2] तृप्यतानाकनद्यां
निर्णिक्तो येन युध्यद्रिपुरुधिरकणा-

L. 8. कीर्णधारः कृपाणः ॥ [4]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Sragdharā*.

(2) M and R—अधिकतरां । Dr. Chakravarti, Editor, *E.I.* is right in correcting it to अपि न तरां.

Translation :

In the lineage of **Vīra-Sena**, whose virtues are recounted in the Pauranic stories, was born **Sāmanta-Sena**,—a garland bedecking the crest of the family of the Kṣatriyas of Karṇṇāṭa; who, not satisfied even after having made the face of the globe bereft of heroes, proceeded to wash in the divine river (Ganges) the edge of his sword besmeared with the particles of blood of the enemies who engaged him in battle. [4]

वीराणामधिदैवतं [1] रिपुचमूमाराङ्कमल्लव्रत-
स्तस्माद्विस्मयनीयशौर्य्यमहिमा

L. 9. हेमन्तसेनोऽभवत् ।
क्षीरोदाधरवाससो वसुमतीदेव्या यदीयं यशो
रत्नस्येव सुमेरुमौलिमि-

L. 10. लितं क्षौमश्रियं पुष्यति ॥ [5]

Note :—(1) Metre—*Śārddūlavikrīḍita*.

Translation :

From him was born **Hemanta-Sena**, who was an object of worship (like a god) to the heroes; whose mission in life was the destruction of the forces of his enemies; who was endowed with astonishing prowess and majesty; and whose fame shines like a jewel and thus appears like the silken scarf on the Sumeru-crest of goddess Earth, whose lower garment is made up of the Kṣīroda Sea. [5]

अजनि [1] विजयसेनस्तेजसां राशिरस्मात्
समरविट्टमराणां भूभृतामे-

L. 11. कश्शेषः ।
इहं[2] जगति विषेहे येन वंशस्य पूर्व्वः
पुरुष इति सुधांशौ केवलं राजशब्दः ॥ [6]

Notes:—(1) Metre—*Mālinī*.

(2) Read इह ।

Translation:

From him was born the mass of energy (which was) Vijaya **Sena**, the last among the princes whose custom it was to go out on military expeditions. He tolerated the epithet king to cling to the Moon alone, because he happened to be the progenitor of his family. [6]

भूचक्रं[1]
L. 12. कियदेतदावृतमभूद्यद्वामनस्यांघ्रिणा
नागानां कियदास्पदं यदुरसा[2] लङ्घन्ति गूढाङ्घ्रयः ।
एकाह्ना-[3]
L. 13. यदनूरुरञ्चति कियन्मात्रं तदप्यम्बरं
यस्यातीव यशो ह्रिया त्रिभुवनं व्याप्यापि नो[4] तृप्यति[5] ॥ [7]

Notes:—(1) Metre—*Śārddūlavikrīḍita*.

(2) M reads आभ्युदर्यमुरसा, which is well-corrected by the present reading of R, which is the reading on both the plates.

(3) R. D. Banerji (*J.A.S.B.*, 1909, pp. 467ff.) correctly read एकाह्नात् which M needlessly corrected to एकाह्नोत् ।

(4) M व्याप्यापि. R व्याप्यापि, which is the correct reading to be found on both the plates.

(5) The translation of the *Śloka* offered by R is far from happy. The intended sense is the smallness of the three worlds and consequent shame and dissatisfaction on covering such small areas.

Translation:

Very small indeed is the orb of this earth, which became covered (even) by the foot of the Dwarf: very small also must be the abode (nether region) of the snakes, which is covered even by those with hidden legs (i.e. the snakes), crawling on their breasts: and the heavenly sphere, again, must also be very small, which even the Thighless One traverses in the course of a day. (This is why) his profuse fame, even after encompassing the three worlds, does not feel satisfied through shame (of having not done enough.) [7]

तस्मादशेष- [1]
L. 14. भुवनोत्सवपार्व्वणेन्दु- [2]
र्व्वल्लालसेनजगतीपतिरुज्जगाम ।
यः केवलं न खलु सर्व्वनरेश्वराणा-
मेकः स-
L. 15. मग्रविदुषामपि [3] चक्रवर्त्ति [4] ॥ [8]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Vasantatilakā.*

(2) M reads कारणेन्दु । R also makes out the correct reading पार्व्वणेन्दु, which is also the reading on the Mādhāinagar plate.

(3) M reads विबुधाम्, but the reading on the Mādhāinagar plate is also विदुषाम् ।

(4) Read चक्रवर्त्ती. The Mādhāinagar plate has the correct reading.

Translation :

From him was born **Ballāla Sena,** the master of the earth,—a festival-creating moon who was the source of endless rejoicing in the worlds,—who was a lord not only over all the other kings, but over the entire circle of scholars as well. [8]

परापरान्तः [1] पुरमौलिरत्नं [2]
चालुक्यभूपालकुलेन्दुलेखा ।
तस्य [3] प्रियाभू-
L. 16. दङ्गमानभूमि-
र्स्वर्गीपृथिव्योरपि रामदेवी ॥ [9]

Notes :—(1) Metre—*Upendravajrā.* The correct reading is probably धराधरान्तः—, which the Mādhāinagar plates has and which M reads. But the reading here appears to be परापरान्तः—. But प and ध are easily confused on this plate. There is no justification for reading धराधरान्तः—, as Dr. Chakravarti proposes in E.I.

(2) R notes the correct reading रत्नं.

(3) तस्या, as read by M is clearly wrong. Noted also by R.

Translation :

His beloved wife was **Rāmadevī,** the crest-jewel of the king's seraglio, a streak of moon from the family of the Chālukya king,—a lady beloved and deeply respected by even (her co-wives) the goddess of Fortune and the Earth. [9]

एताभ्यां [1] वसुदेवदेवकसुता देहान्तराभ्यामिव
श्रीमल्ल-
L. 17. क्ष्मणसेनमूर्त्तिरजनि क्ष्मापालनारायणः ।
चक्रे यन्मयजन्मनिस्सहमिलन्निद्रानुवन्धच्छलात्
क्लि-
L. 18. ष्टेनाधिपयोधि कञ्चुकमिव त्यक्तं [2] प्रमुग्धं वपुः ॥ [10]

Notes.—This *Śloka* was only partly deciphered by B and M. R also has not been able to make much of the last two lines. The suggestions of Dr. C have clarified the meaning to some extent. There is no doubt that the reference is to the birth of the Lord Narāyāṇa under painful circumstances, and from the analogy drawn with the birth of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, it would appear that his birth also was equally painful. This strangely supports the story recorded by Minhajuddin, author of Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri, that the birth of Lakṣmaṇa Sena was attended with extraordinary happenings and the queen-mother was enveloped in eternal sleep in giving him birth. The meaning of the last two lines, all the same, is rather hazy. I have attempted a translation, but am not quite satisfied with it.

(1) Metre—*Śārddūlavikrīḍita.*

(2) The word reads like त्यक्ता; if so, it should be corrected to त्यक्तं.

Translation:

From them, as if from the bodies of Vasudeva and the daughter of Devaka, the figure of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the Nārāyaṇa, sprang forth. (That Nārāyaṇa) united that (figure) for the purpose of a painful (मय) birth, and when taken away (क्लिष्ट), it left the dazed body under cover of sleep in the manner of the corset (on the breast) of the Sea of pain (fallen off during sleep).

दृप्य[1]द्गौड़ेश्वरश्रीहठहरणकला यस्य कौमा-
L. 19. रकेलिः [2]
कालिङ्गेनाङ्गनाभिः प्रतिसदनपदाश्चक्रिरे [3] यस्य यूनः ।
येनासौ काशिराजः समर-
L. 20. भुवि जितो यस्य निस्त्रिंशधारा-
भीरुः प्राग्ज्योतिषेन्द्र[4]श्चरणजरजसा निर्म्ममे कार्म्मणानि ॥
[11]

Notes.—This *Śloka* was only partially deciphered by B and M. The attempts of R and C leave the second line unsatisfactory, while great credit is due to R for reading प्राग्ज्योतिषेन्द्रः in the last line, which I failed to read. The *Śloka* as now read above, will, I hope, give complete satisfaction.

(1) M reads आसीद्गौडेश्वर; but the present (as also made out by R) is undoubtedly the correct reading. प्य of दृप्यद्—is very clear even on the Mādhāinagar plate.

(2) Metre—*Sragdharā*. M gives the metre as शार्दूलविक्रीडित, which is wrong.

(3) This is undoubtedly a better reading than those proposed by R and C. प्रतिसदन means 'abhorrence', and the word पद, ordinarily neuter, is also rarely used in the masculine gender, as here.

(4) This excellent and consistent reading was made out by R.

Translation:

His juvenile prank was the forcible seizure of the Fortunes of the haughty Lord of **Gauḍa**. Feelings of (veritable) abhorrence (for women) were engendered in him in his youth by the (conquered) king of **Kaliṅga** by (a too profuse supply of) women. That (well-known) king of **Kāśī** was defeated by him in the field of battle. The king of **Prāgjyotiṣa**, afraid of the edge of his sword, worked magic with the dust of his feet. [11]

आकौ-
L. 21. मारं[1] समरजयिना कुर्व्वतोर्व्वीमवीरा-
मेतेनामी कथमिव दिशामीसितारो[2] विमुक्ताः ।
युद्धोद्दीप्ते व-[3]
L. 22. पुषि कलया तस्य तेष्टौ[4] प्रविष्टाः
प्रह्वीभूते[5] प्रभवति नहि क्षत्रियाणां कृपाणः ॥ [12]

Notes.—This *Śloka* was only partially and defectively deciphered by B and M on the Mādhāinagar plate. Of the text deciphered here, the first two lines appear to be sure and correct. The remaining two lines also yield good sense.

(1) Metre—*Mandākrāntā*.

(2) Read ईप्सितारो. The Mādhāinagar plate has the correct spelling.

(3) These five letters at the end of line 21 are very much rubbed off and the reading proposed is only a tentative one.

The fourth letter is either ते or म्ने and not ङ्गे, as made out by R and C. I first read स्तब्धीभूते but would prefer the present reading युद्धोद्दीप्ते, which yields better meaning.

(4) वपुषि and तेष्टौ are good readings made out by R.

(5) प्रह्वीभूते or प्रह्लीभूते, the first suggested by C, yields excellent meaning.

Translation:

By him, who had been the victor in battles from his boyhood and had exterminated heroes from the face of this earth, why (it may be asked) were those (श्रमी) Lords of the Quarters allowed to go scotfree? Those Eight (Lords of the Quarters) artfully entered (i.e. took shelter) into his body energized by battle and (it is well known that) the sword of the Kṣattriya does not function against the submissive. [12]

यत्रारामद्रुमदलरु-
L. 23. चा[1] शैवलिन्यर्ह्रृगन्ति[2]
सस्यव्याजाज्जयपदगुणे[3] येषु रोमाञ्चिता भूः ।
प्राणान्मुञ्चन्त्यवनिपतयो
L. 24. नो च नर्याननेन[4]
ग्रामास्ते ते सपदि ददिरे कोटिशः शासनानि ॥ [13]

Notes.—Of this *Sloka*, only two fragments were deciphered by B and M. Engraver's mistakes have added to the difficulties of a correct decipherment.

(1) Metre—*Mandākrāntā.*

(2) शैवलिनी has to be taken at its simple meaning of 'moss'. No river of that name appears to be intended. Of ह्रृगन्ति, the first letter is very peculiar. Metre requires a short syllable here. The reading proposed is probably correct and gives good sense. The readings proposed by R and C cannct be accepted or justified. The second letter ग is clear in the impression and C recognises this fact. Probably *rhhr* is the correct reading and not simply *rhr*.

(3) My reading agrees with that of C except जयपद for his जनपद. The letter after ज cannot be न. It is clearly य or प.

(4) C suggested नर्यावनेन, i.e., नर्यौ+अनेन । But the third letter is certainly न. Therefore I agree with R in reading

नर्य्याननेन, i.e., नर्य्यान्+अनेन. नर्य्यान् is the plural of नर्य्य in the masculine, meaning manly qualities. The plain meaning is,—kings give up प्राणान् but not नर्य्यान्.

Translation:

Where the mosses play hide-and-seek by the side of the beauty of the trees of the pleasure resorts; where the thrill of victory (prosperity) of the earth is expressed in the guise of (shivering) corn plants; (where) princes give up their lives, but not their manly qualities; (where) were quickly given diverse villages by crores (i.e. in large numbers) as grants to Brahmins,—[13].

ते खलु[1] धार्य्य[2] ग्रामपरिसर स-

L. 25. मावासित श्रीमज्जयस्कन्धावारात् परमेश्वर-परमसौर-[3]
परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्री वल्ला-

L. 26. लसेनदेवपादानुध्यात-निजभुजमन्दरामन्दरप्रमथिता-
सीमसमरसागरसमासादितगौड़लक्ष्मी-वीर-

L. 27. सकल[4] कुशेषय[5] विकास[6] वासरंकर-गौडेश्वर-परमेश्वर-
परमनारसिंह-परमभट्टारक-महारा-

L. 28. जाधिराज-श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनदेवपादा विजयिनः ।

Notes:—(1) M reads....निर्गते खलु. This is a mistake. The last letter नि of the last *Śloka* and the succeeding ॥ (double full-stop) were mistaken for निर्ग. The real reading is as given above.

(2) R throws doubt on the reading धार्य्यग्राम, the name of the capital. But the reading is fairly clear on the Mādhāinagar plate, as well as here. The name may be धार्य्या and not धार्य्य.

(3) R reads वैष्णव. The letters are corroded, but appear to read सौर.

(4) R reads सेनकुलकुशेशय.

(5) Read कुशेशय, meaning lotus.

(6) Read विकाश। R fails to read most of line 26 and first half of line 27. C suggests better readings. But the reading offered here will, I hope, be found satisfactory.

Translation:

Verily from the victorious camp pitched across (that) Dhāryyagrāma, the victorious and illustrious lord **Lakṣmaṇa-**

Sena-Deva, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious **Ballāla-Sena-Deva,** the great lord, the great worshipper of the sun-god, the great worshipful one and the great paramount sovereign; who acquired the Fortunes of Gauḍa by churning furiously the boundless sea of war by the Mandara (churning rod) of his own arms; who is the sun which makes all the lotuses viz: heroes, to bloom forth; the lord of Gauḍa; the great lord; the great worshipper of the Man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu; the great worshipful one; the great paramount sovereign—

समुपगताशेषराज राजन्यक राज्ञी राणक रा-
L. 29. जपुत्र राजामात्य महापुरोहित महाधर्म्माध्यक्ष महा-
सान्धिविग्रहिक महासेनापति महामुद्राधिकृ-
L. 30. तान्तरङ्ग बृहदुपरिक महाक्षपटलिक महाप्रतीहार-
महाभोगिक महापीलुपति महागणस्थ दौः

REVERSE.

L. 1. साधिक चौरोद्धरणिक नौबलहस्त्यश्वगोमहिषाजादि-
कादिव्यापृतक गौल्मिक दण्डपाशि-
L. 2. क दण्डनायक विषयपत्यादीन् अन्यांश्च सकलराज-
पादोपजीविनोऽध्यक्षप्रचारोक्तानिहाकीर्त्ति-
L. 3. तान् चट्टभट्टजातीयान् जनपदान् क्षेत्रकरान्
ब्राह्मणान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् यथार्हं मानयन्ति बोध-
L. 4. यन्ति समादिशन्ति च मतमस्तु भवताम्

Translation:

[Thus] suitably persuades, explains to, and commands all the (following) endless (people) who make a living depending on the king's feet (i.e. the royal officers) [viz:]—

राज = Princes (probably dependent princes).

राजन्यक = Assemblage of Warriors.

राज्ञी = Queens.

राणक = Members of the king's family or kinsmen of the King.

राजपुत्र = Sons of the King.

राजामात्य = Ministers of the King.

महापुरोहित = The High Priest.

महाधर्म्माध्यक्ष = The Supreme Judge or Chief Justice.

महासान्धिविग्रहिक = The Supreme Minister for Peace and War.

महासेनापति = The Commander-in-Chief.

महामुद्राधिकृत = The Lord Privy-Seal.

अन्तरङ्ग = The Private Secretary (?).

बृहदुपरिक = The Rulers over large units like the Divisions of modern days.

महाक्षपटलिक = The Chief Record-Keeper.

महाप्रतीहार = The Lord Chamberlain.

महाभोगिक = The Chief Lord of Stables.

महापीलुपति = The Chief Lord of Elephant Stables.

महागणस्थ = The Divisional Commander of Forces.

दौःसाधिक = One who performs difficult tasks, probably, the Head of the Intelligence Branch of the Police.

चौरोद्धरणिक = The police officer in charge of investigation into cases of theft. A thief-extirpator. A thief-catcher. (Monier-Williams.)

व्यापृतक = Officers in charge of (the following):—

नौ = Boats. बल = Forces. हस्ती = Elephants. अश्व = Horses.

गो = Cows. महिष = Buffaloes. अज = Goats. अविक = Sheep.

गौल्मिक = Superintendent of Outposts.

दण्डपाशिक = Holder of noose to catch offenders. Police Chief. (Monier-Williams.)

दण्डनायक = Rod-applier or Judge. (Monier-Williams.)

विषयपति = District Officers.

—and all other (officers) included in the List of Government Officials, but not mentioned here, (as well as) regular and irregular members of the Police Force and the tillers of the soil, the Brāhmaṇas and (members of society) other than the Brāhmaṇas, —let the consent of your honoured selves be (to the following transaction):—

L. 4 (*Continued*). यथा श्रीपौण्ड्रवर्द्धनभुक्त्यन्तःपाति वाण्डनावृत्त्यन्त-
र्गतवसुश्रीचतु-

L. 5. रके पूर्व्वे प्रोञ्चेषादाण्डिसीमा दक्षिणे जलदाण्डिसीमा
पश्चिमे मजनदीसीमा उत्तरेऽपि तथा

L. 6. सीमा इत्थं चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नं कविल्की चुञ्चली गाण्डोली देहियाखण्डक्षेत्रसमेत राप

L. 7. स्वकोटमजगहर्त्तराक पूर्व्वे गुडहाससम्बन्धिभूसूत्रद्वयं सिंहजाविल्की तथा केमतग्रावाटिपश्चिमका

L. 8. ण्डिस्तथा जलदाण्डिसम्बन्धीयचतुःसूत्रभ्रष्टजलनिर्ग्गमजाणः सीमा दक्षिणे जलदाण्डिसीमा

L. 9. पश्चिमायाञ्च जलदाण्डिसीमा उत्तरे वानहारनदः सीमा। इत्थञ्चतुःसीमावच्छिन्नो मा

L. 10. दिसाहंसग्रामकियदेकदेशः इत्थमेतावूपरिलिखिताभूसीमावच्छिन्नौ द्वाविंशतिहस्त-

L. 11. परिमितनलेन तलवर्त्तसमेत काकिन्यष्टाविंशति षष्ठ्याधिक पाटिको[1] समेत द्रोणीकान्वित-

L. 12. समुदयभूंपाटकात्मकाः सम्वत्सरेण कपर्द्दकपुराणशतचतुष्टयोत्पत्तिकखण्डक्षेत्रचतुष्टय स[2]

L. 13. समेता वासुंमण्डण[3]मादिसाहंसकियदेकभूभागौ सझाटविटपौ सजलस्थलौ सगर्त्तो-

L. 14. षरौ सगुवाकनारिकेलौ सह्यदशापराधौ परिहृतसर्व्वपीड़ावचट्टभट्टप्रवेशावकिञ्चित्प्र-

L. 15. ग्राह्यौ तृणपूतिगोचरपर्य्यन्तौ कृष्णदेवशर्म्मणः प्रपौत्राय जयदेवशर्म्मणः पौत्राय महादेव-

L. 16. देवशर्म्मणः पुत्राय मोद्गल्य[4]सगोत्राय और्व्वच्यवनभार्गवजामदग्न आप्नुवान् प्रवराय सामवेदकौथुम-

L. 17. शाखाचरणावधायिने पाठकश्रीपद्मनाभदेवशर्म्मणे पुण्ये अहनि विधिवदुदकपूर्व्वकं भगव-

L. 18. न्तं श्रीमन्नारायणभट्टारकमुद्दिश्य महादेवी भट्टया[5] देवी महादेवी कल्याणदेव्याः भूतिपोष्टिनि-

L. 19. मित्तं वास्तुगोचराद्यां सम्वर्षेण शतचतुष्टयोत्पत्तिकां भूमिमुत्सृज्याचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं यावत्

L. 20. भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ताम्रशासनीकृत्वा प्रदत्ता अस्माभिः।

Notes.—The proper right side of the plate has suffered severely by corrosion, with the result that it is very difficult to decipher about a quarter of all the lines in the beginning. Some geographical names occurring in this obscure quarter

could not, therefore, be satisfactorily deciphered. The doubtful names and portions have been underlined in the text. The name of the आवृत्ति I have made out as वाण्डन and that of the चतुरक as वसुश्री. The latter name can be also read as वसुश्वी. Names ending in श्री and its corruption शी are rather common in Bengal. The name of चन्द्रश्री, now called चांदशी, a well-known village of the Bakarganj district, may be recalled in this connection. Many names ending in श्री are also to be found in the region where the plate was found, showing that the names were given to the villages by the early Aryan colonisors who had a keen aesthetic sense and a genius for poetical nomenclature.

R reads some of the proper names differently, as corrosion makes taking of different views possible. But his failure to read the identifying name of the river वानहार is regrettable. C has not failed to suggest the correct reading.

(1) Read पाटक.

(2) Delete this redundant स.

(3) The name of the first village, part of which was granted, is provisionally deciphered as वासुमण्डन. This name probably occurs at the end of line 6 and beginning of line 7, where the letters deciphered give no sense. These letters may, after all, be simply वासुमण्डनग्रामकियदेकदेशः.

(4) The name is spelt मोद्गल्ल्य and not मौद्गल्य.

(5) The name can be read nothing else than घट्टया. On this point, the note added by C (*E.I.*, XXVI, p. 9, n. 3) is illuminating.

Translation :

Whereas in the **Bhukti** (Division) of **Pauṇḍravardhana**, in the Āvṛtti (Circle or Enclosure) of **Bāṇḍana**, in the **Chaturaka** (Quadrangle) of **Vasu-Śrī**, (the village) Rāpaśvakoṭa—Majagaharttarāka(?) with detached plots of (the villages of) Kavilkī, Chunchalī, Gāṇḍolī and Dehiyā, bounded as follows:—

To the East, the boundary of Poñchesādāṇḍi;
To the South, the boundary of Jaladāṇḍi;
To the West, the boundary of the dried up river;
To the North, the same; (and)

a part of the village of Mādisāhaṁsa, bounded as follows:—

To the East, the canal (outlet) for the flow of spill-water skirting two sides of the (village of) Guḍahāsa and slipping off the four sides of (the villages of) Siṁhajāvilkī, Kematagrāvāṭi, Paśchimkāṇḍi and Jaladāṇḍi;

To the South, the boundary of Jaladāṇḍi;

To the West also the boundary of Jaladāṇḍi;

To the North, the boundary of the river **Bānahāra**;

These two plots of land, bounded as above, measured by the *Nala* (reed) measuring twenty-two cubits in length, and including the attached low land, (of the total area of) six *Pāṭakas* increased by one Droṇa and twenty-eight *Kākinis*,—the entire land annually producing four hundred *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas*,—(viz:) parts of the villages of Vāsumaṇḍana and Mādisāhaṁsa with four detached plots of land,—

With all the shrubs and trees, with all dry land and water, with the ditches and fallow land, with the betel-nut and the coconut trees, with the toleration of (i.e. unforfeitable in spite of) the Ten offences, relieved of all taxes, (oppressive impositions), unencroachable by Chaṭṭas and Bhaṭṭas (regular and irregular Police Force) free from all (state) demands, even with the grass, wild herbs and pasture,—this land annually producing four hundred *Kaparddaka-Purāṇas* and consisting of habitable land and pasture, etc., has been given by us in dedication, by the promulgation of a copper-plate, in perpetuity to last as long as the Sun, the Moon and the Earth lasted,—duly consecrated with (holy) water and on an auspicious day, for pleasing the illustrious god Lord Nārāyaṇa, and for the welfare and advancement of the **major queens Śṛyā Devī** and **Kalyāṇa Devī**,—

To the Reader (of holy texts) Śrī Padmanābha Deva-Śarmman, son of Mahādeva Deva Śarmman, grandson of Jaya Deva-Śarmman and great-grandson of Kṛṣṇa Deva-Śarmman belonging to the clan of Modgallya and with the (five) *Pravaras* Aurbba, Chyāvana, Bhārggava, Jāmadagna and Āpnuvān, versed in a quarter of the Kauthuma branch of the Sāma-Veda.

L. 20 (*Continued*). तद्भवद्भिः सर्व्वैरेवानुमन्तव्याः भावि-

L. 21. भिरपि भूपतिभिरपहरणे नरकपातभयात् पालने धर्म्मगौरवात्
शासनमिदं पालनीयम्। भव-

L. 22. न्ति चात्र धर्म्मानुशंसिनः श्लोकाः। भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति
यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति। उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नि-

L. 23. यतं स्वर्गगामिनौ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
भिः। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा

L. 24. फलम्। आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो वल्गयन्ति पितामहाः। भूमि-
दाता कुले जातः स नस्त्राता भविष्यति॥ ष-

L. 25. ष्टिम्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता
च तान्येव नरके वसेत्। स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो

L. 26. हरेत वसुन्धरां स विष्ठायां क्रिमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते॥
इति कमलदलाम्बुबिन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य

L. 27. मनुष्यजीवितञ्च सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा न हि पुरुषैः पर-
कीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ अरिराजमद-

L. 28. नशङ्करनरपतिरकरोन्महीशतमुख्यं शङ्करधरमिह दूलं गौड-
महासान्धिविग्रहिकम् ॥

L. 29. श्री नि महासां नि। श्रीमद्राज नि। श्रीमदनशङ्कर नि।
श्रीमत् साहसमल्ल नि। सं २७। का दिने ६

Translation:

Therefore this (transaction) should be permitted by all of you venerable gentlemen. By the future kings also, this grant should be respected, as there is religious merit in respecting this grant and the apprehension of falling into the hell in misappropriating the land of this grant. Here may be cited the following religious distiches:—

One who accepts lands granted and the one who makes the grant of land,—both of these persons of meritorious deed constantly find their way to paradise.

Kings like Sagara and others extensively gave away land. Whenever and whoever (subsequently) became the proprietor of the land, the merit of the gift then accrued to them.

The fathers strike their arms (in challenging pride) and the grandfathers dance in joy by saying,—'A giver of land has been born in our lineage (and) he will be our Saviour'.

The giver of land revels in paradise for sixty thousand years. One who destroys that grant or permits such destruction lives in hell for an equal number of years.

One who robs land given either by himself or by others, becomes a worm in ordure and putrefies there with his forefathers.

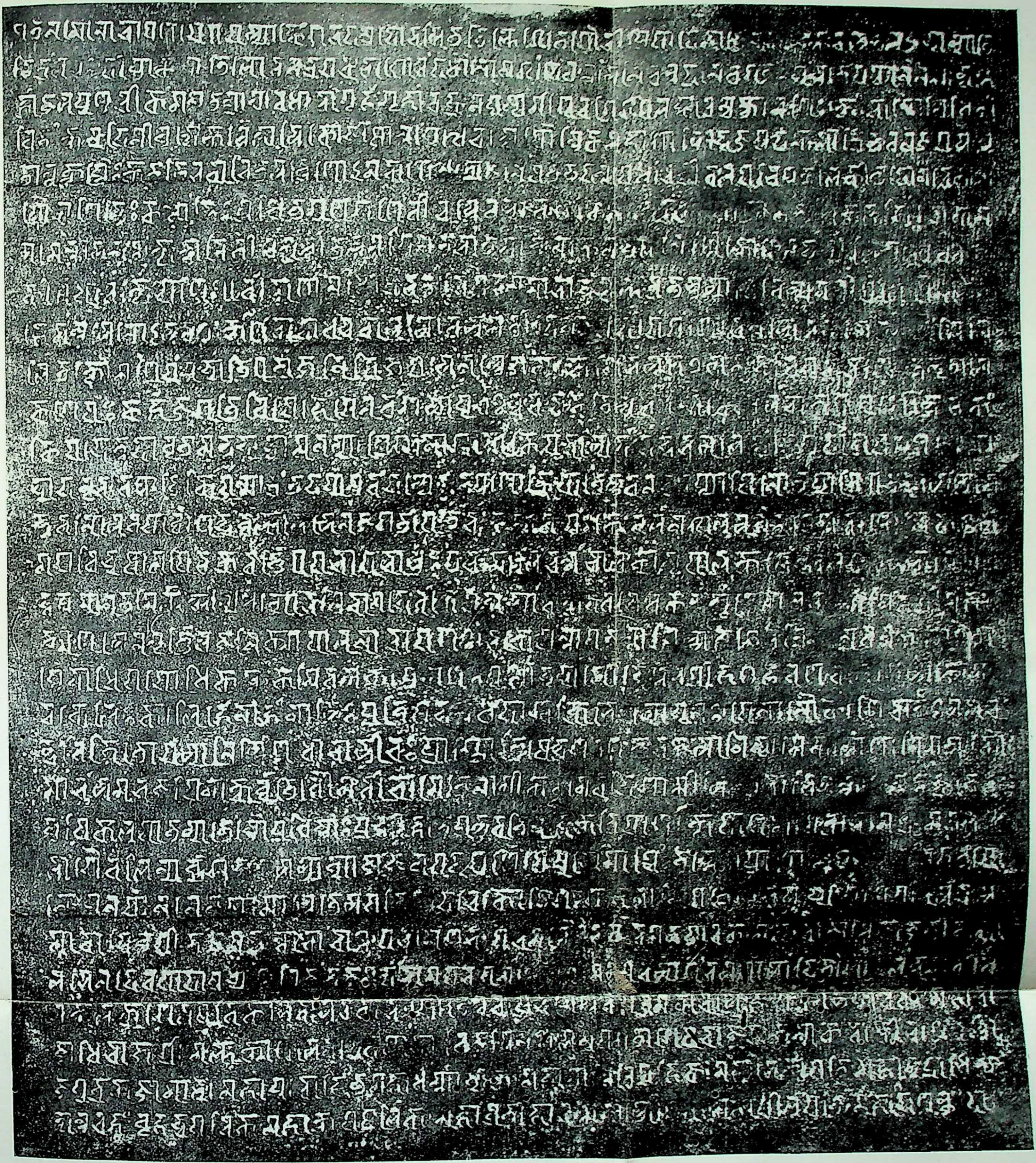
So, considering that good fortune is unsteady like a drop of water on a lotus leaf, and that human life is equally so, and also comprehending all that has been cited (above), a person should not destroy the good deeds of others.

The King who is called **Arirāja-madana-śaṅkara** appointed plenipotentiary in this transaction Śaṅkaradhara, the exalted among a hundred countries and the chief minister of **Gauḍa** for peace and war.

Endorsed by Śrī (Lord Nārāyaṇa ?). By the Mahāsāṁ(dhivigrahika). By the illustrious Sovereign (himself). By the illustrious Madana-Śaṅkara. By the illustrious Sāhasamalla. Year 27. The 6th day of Kā(rttika).[1]

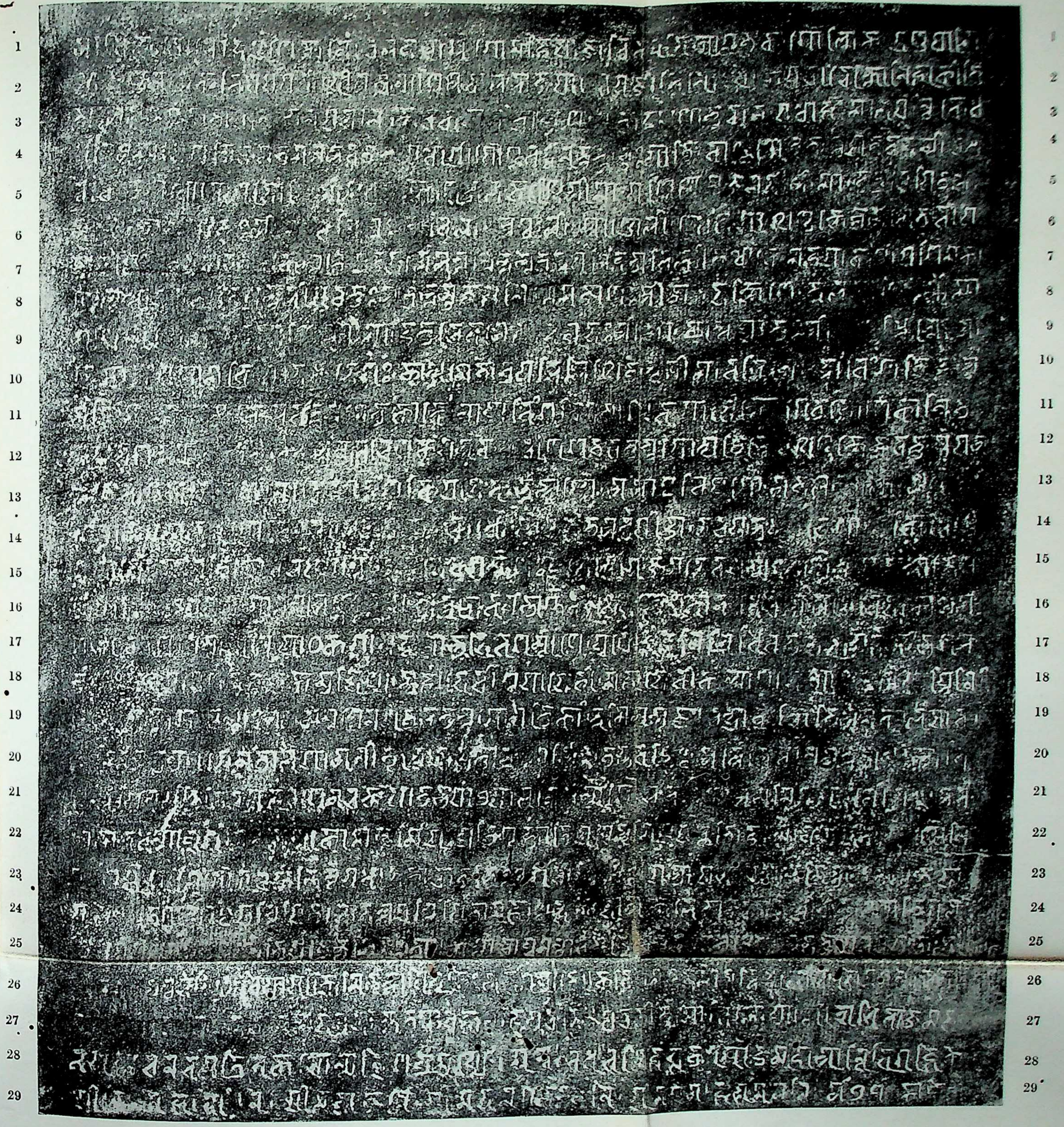
---

[1] The entire annotated text and translation were very kindly revised by Dr. P. C. Lahiri, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Lecturer in Sanskrit, Dacca University, resulting in some important improvements, for which the writer is sincerely grateful to Dr. Lahiri.



The Rājāvāḍī (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva.

OBVERSE.



The Rājāvāḍī (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva.

REVERSE.

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.

Volume VIII, 1942.

Article No. 2.

The Gupta Era.

By P. C. Sengupta.

(*Communicated by Prof. M. N. Saha.*)

In the present paper it is proposed to determine the beginning of the era of the Gupta emperors of northern India. Dr. Fleet in his great book *Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol III, has published a collection of the Gupta inscriptions. In order to verify the dates in those inscriptions he had the assistance of the late Mr. S. B. Dīkṣita of Poona, and his calculations led Dr. Fleet to conclude that the Gupta era began from 319–321 A.D.[1] This indefinite statement or inference is not satisfactory. Mr. Dīkṣita was also not able to prove that the Gupta and Valabhī eras were but one and the same era.[2] Of recent years some have even ventured to prove that the Gupta era is to be identified with the Saṁvat or Mālava era. Hence it has become necessary to try to arrive at a definite conclusion on this point, *viz.*, as to the true beginning of the Gupta era.

The tradition about this era is recorded by Alberuni, which is equivalent to this:—from the Śaka year deduct 241, the result is the year of the Gupta kings and that the Gupta and the Valabhī eras are one and the same era.[3] Now the Śaka era and the Saṁvat or Mālava era are generally taken to begin from the light half of lunar *Caitra*. As has been stated already, it is extremely controversial to assume if this was so at the times when these eras were started.

From the earliest Vedic times and also from the *Vedāṁga* period, we have the most unmistakable evidences to show that the calendar year, as distinguished from the sacrificial year was started either from the winter solstice day or from the day following it. The so-called *Caitra-śuklādi* reckoning started the year from the vernal equinox day or from the day following it. So far as we can see from a study of the history of Indian astronomy, we are led to conclude that this sort of beginning the year was started by Āryabhaṭa I, from 499 A.D. The great fame of Āryabhaṭa I as an astronomer led all the astronomers and public men of later times to follow him in this respect. We start with the hypothesis that the Gupta era was originally started from the winter solstice day and that initially the year of the era more correctly corresponded with the Christian year than with the *Caitra-śuklādi* Śaka year.

---

[1] Fleet—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III (Gupta Inscriptions) page 127.

[2] S. B. Dīkṣita, भारतीय ज्योतिःशास्त्र, page 375 (1st edn.).

[3] Sachau's Alberuni, Vol. II, page 7—'The epoch of the era of the Guptas falls, like that of the Valabha era, 241 years later than the Śakakāla.'

Now the year 241 of the Śaka era is equivalent to 319-20 A.D. We assume that the Gupta era started from the winter solstice day preceding January 1, 319 A.D. The elapsed years of the Gupta era till 1940 A.D. becomes 1,621 years and $1,621 = 160 \times 10 + 19 + 2$. Hence the starting year of the era was similar to 1938 A.D. Now the mean precession rate from 319 to 1938 A.D. = 50″·0847 per year. Hence the total shifting of the solstices becomes till 1938 A.D. = 22° 31′ 27″·54. Thus what was 270° of the longitude of the sun should now become 292° 31′ nearly—a longitude which the sun now has about the 13th of January. On looking up some of the recent calendars we find that

(*a*) In the year 1922 there was a full-moon on January 13.

(*b*) In the year 1937 there was a new-moon on January 12.

We apply the elapsed years 1,619 (sidereal) backward to January 12, 1937 A.D and arrive at the date:—

December 20, 317 A.D., on which at G.M.N. or Ujjayinī,

mean time, 5-4 P.M.,

Mean Sun = 269° 5′ 11″·26
,, Moon = 272° 39′ 40″·40
Lunar Perigee = 39° 50′ 37″·25
A. Node = 257° 44′ 29″·88
Sun's Apogee = 74° 7′ 25″·16
,, eccentricity = 0·0173808.

Hence $2e$ = 119′·5016
$\frac{5}{4}e^2$ = 1′·2981
Appt. Sun = 269° 37′
,, Moon = 268° 52′ nearly.

The moon overtook the sun in about 1½ hours and the sun reached the summer solstice in about 9 hours. Hence December 20, 317 A.D., was a new-moon day and also the day of winter solstice according to the ordinary mode of Indian reckoning. As this day was similar to January 12, 1937 A.D., *viz* lunar *Agrahāyaṇa* ended, it appears that the Gupta era was started from about the 21st December 318 A.D., and this was the 12th day of lunar *Pauṣa*. It must be remembered in this connection that the distinguishing character of the lunar *Agrahāyaṇa* with which the year ended at the end of a correct luni-solar cycle, was that the last quarter of the moon was very nearly conjoined with *Citrā* (*Spica* or *α Virginis*).[1] In our opinion this character of the month was used for the intercalation of a lunar month at the end of a correct luni-solar cycle. We now proceed to examine the dates given in the Gupta Inscriptions as collected together by Dr. Fleeṭ in his great book on the subject.

---

[1] *Cf.* the long. of the moon on January 4, 1937 A.D., at L.Q. with that of α *Virginis*.

(i) शते पञ्चषष्ट्यधिके (१६५) वर्षाणाम् भूपतौ च बुधगुप्ते आषाढ़-मासे-शुक्लद्वादश्यां सुरगुरोर्दिवसे [1] ।

The inscription says that the 12th *tithi* of the light half of lunar *Āṣāḍha* of the Gupta year 165, fell on a Thursday. We examine this both by the modern and the *Siddhāntic* methods.

(*a*) By the modern method.

The year 165 of the Gupta Kings is similar to the year 1924 A.D., and the date corresponded with July 13, Sunday, of 1924 A.D. The elapsed years till this date = 1,440 sidereal years = 525,969 days. We increase the number of days by 1 and divide it by 7: the remainder is 4, which shows that the inscription statement of Thursday agrees with the Sunday of July 13, 1924 A.D.

We next apply 525,969 days backward to July 13, 1924, and arrive at the date June 21, 484 A.D., the date of the inscription.

This date was 14·15 Julian centuries and 181·25 days before January 1, 1900 A.D.

Hence on June 21, 484 A.D., at G.M.N.:
Mean Sun = 91° 12′ 50″·64
,, Moon = 235° 7′ 53″·42
L. Perigee = 335° 23′ 2″·80
A. Node = 277° 14′ 51″·51
Sun's Apogee = 76° 14′ 32″
,, Eccentricity = 0·0173175

Hence :—
$2e$ = 119′·0564
$\frac{5}{4}e^2$ = 1′·290.

From these we readily find the same mean places at the preceding Ujjayinī mean midnight.

Hence on June 20, 484 A.D. at Ujjayinī mean midnight :

Mean Sun = 90° 30′ 47″·38
,, Moon = 225° 45′ 41″·78
Lunar Perigee = 335° 18′ 17″·61
A. Node = 277° 17′ 7″·08

Appt. Sun = 90° 2′
,, Moon = 219° 47′ nearly.

Thus at the Ujjayinī mean midnight of the day before (Wednesday), the 11th *tithi* was current, and next day, Thursday, had at sunrise the 12th *tithi* of the lunar month of *Āṣāḍha*.

---

[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 80, Êran Inscription.

(*b*) According to the method of the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* of Brahmagupta, the *Kali ahargaṇa* on this Wednesday at the Ujjayinī mean midnight was =1309545.

Hence:— Mean Sun = 91° 3′ 4″
,, Moon = 226° 23′ 17″
Lunar Perigee = 335° 42′ 56″
A. Node = 277° 35′ 17″

The above two sets of the mean elements for the same instant are in fair agreement. Hence the date of the inscription is Thursday, June 21, 484 A.D., and the Zero Year of the Gupta era is thus 319 A.D. We are here in agreement with Dīkṣita's finding.

(ii) The Second Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

श्रीविश्वनाथ प्रतिवद्ध नौजनानां बोधक रसुल महम्मद संवत् ६६२ तथा श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १३२० तथा श्रीमद् वलभी संवत् ९४५ आषाढ़ वदि १३ रवौ अद्य इह[1]।

Here the Hizri year 662 shows that the Vikrama Saṁvat is expressed in elapsed years as 1320; and as it is now reckoned it should be 1321. The Valabhī Saṁvat 945 is the same as the Gupta Saṁvat 945, in which the thirteenth *tithi* of the dark half of *Jyaiṣṭha* fell on a Sunday.

Now the mean *Khaṇḍakhādyaka ahargaṇa* = 218,878
from which we deduct 30
218,848,

which we accept as the correct *ahargaṇa*, and is exactly divisible by 7, and which was true for Saturday of *Āṣāḍha Vadi* 12 of the Gupta era 945. The English date for this Saturday was May 25, 1264 A.D. On the next day (Sunday) the date was May 26, 1264 A.D. the date of the inscription.

From the above apparent *ahargaṇa* for May 25, 1264 A.D., which was a Saturday, at the Ujjayinī mean midnight we have—

Mean Sun = 1^s 27° 42′ 48″
,, Moon = 0^s 27° 31′ 40″
L. Apogee = 6^s 20° 29′ 1″ (with Lalla's correction)
A. Node = 9^s 29° 53′ 4″ (,, ,, ,,)

Hence:—Appt. Sun = 1^s 28° 21′ 57″
,, Moon = 0^s 28° 8′ 44″
Moon−Sun = 10^s 29° 46′ 47″
= 27 *tithis* + 5° 46′ 47″.

---

[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 84, Veraval Inscription.

Thus at the midnight (U.M.T.) of the Saturday ended, about 11 hrs. of the 13th *tithi* of the dark half of *Jyaiṣṭha* were over and 13 hrs. nearly of it remained. Thus the current *tithi* of the next morning of Sunday was also the 13th of the dark half of *Jyaiṣṭha*, which is called *Āṣāḍha Vadi* 13.

In the present case the Valabhī or Gupta year 945 = 1264 A.D. Hence also the Gupta era began from 319 A.D. and we are in agreement with Dīkṣita.

(iii) The Third Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

९२७ वर्षे फाल्गुन सुदि २ सोम[1] ।

It is here stated that in the Gupta or Valabhī year 927, the 2nd *tithi* of the light half of *Phālguna*, fell on a Monday. The English date becomes 1246 A.D. February 19. Śaka Year was 1,167 years +11 months +2 *tithis*, the Gupta year being taken to have been reckoned from the light half of lunar *Pauṣa*.

The true *Khaṇḍakhādyaka ahargaṇa* becomes = 212,179 at Ujjayinī Mean Midnight of Monday, when

Mean Sun = 10^s 24° 43′ 44″
,, Moon = 11^s 24° 26′ 37″
L. Apogee = 6^s 3° 20′ 53″
A. Node = 2^s 1° 59′ 40″.

Hence on the same date at 6 A.M. Ujjayinī M.T.:

Mean Sun = 10^s 23° 59′ 23″
Sun's Apogee = 2^s 17° 0′ 0″
Mean Moon = 11^s 14° 33′ 41″
L. Apogee = 6^s 3° 15′ 52″.

Thus:—

Appt. Sun = 325° 59′ 2″
,, Moon = 342° 56′ 51″
Moon—Sun = 16° 57′ 25″
= 1 *tithi*+4° 57′ 25″.

On this Monday, the *tithi* was the second of the light half of lunar *Phālguna*, while the sun's longitude shows that the Bengali date was the 24th of solar *Phālguna*. We are here in agreement with Dīkṣita.

In this case also calculation by the modern methods is unnecessary as the time was later than that of Brahmagupta. It should be noted that the old year-reckoning from the light half of *Pauṣa* has continued in spite of Aryabhata I's rule of reckoning it from the light half of *Caitra*. Here also 927 of the Gupta era = 1246 A.D.

∴ Zero year of the Gupta era = 319 A.D.

---

[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 90, Veraval Inscription.

(iv) The Fourth Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

३३० गुप्तसंवत् द्विमार्गशीर्षसु सुदि २ सोम [1] ।

This states that the Gupta year 330 had at its end the second *Agrahāyaṇa*. Here of the Gupta year 330, up to *Agrahāyaṇa*, the time by the *Caitra-śuklādi* Śaka era would be 570 years +9 months.

According to the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* of Bramhagupta the total *Kali-solar days* up to 570 of Śaka elapsed +9 months = 1,349,910, in which we get $1,383\frac{12}{976}$ intercalary months, *i.e.* 1,383 exact intercalary months by the mean rate, which tends to show that there was a second lunar *Agrahāyaṇa* at this time. But this explanation appears unsatisfactory. If we follow the method of the *siddhāntas*, there can be no intercalary month in the solar month of *Agrahāyaṇa*, of which the length as found by Warren is less than that of a lunar month.[2] We have also examined it carefully and found that in the present case this could not happen. We have then to examine it another way.

On December 20 of the year 317 A.D. there was a new-moon with which the lunar *Agrahāyaṇa* ended and the sun turned north. The character of this lunar *Agrahāyaṇa* was that the last quarter was conjoined with *Citrā* or α *Virginis*. The Gupta era was started one year later than this date, from the 20th December, 318 A.D. The year 330 of the Gupta era was thus the year which ended about December 20 of 648 A.D. and the number of years elapsed was 331 = 160×2+11.

Thus 331 years was a fairly complete luni-solar cycle, and comprised 120,898 days. Again 577,825 days before January 1, 1900 A.D., was the date December 20, 317 A.D. Hence applying 120,898 days forward to this date, we arrive at the date December 21, 648 A.D. But the new-moon happened one day earlier, *i.e.* on the 20th December 648 A.D. with which the lunar *Agrahāyaṇa* ended this year.

Now on the day of the last quarter of this month or the *aṣṭakā* which fell on the 13th December 648 A.D., the moon was conjoined with *Citrā* or α *Virginis*, in the latter part of the night. On this day at G.M.N. we had—

Mean Sun $= 264^\circ\ 57'\ 0''\cdot47$
,, Moon $= 180^\circ\ 14'\ 22''\cdot10$
L. Perigee $= 188^\circ\ 32'\ 34''\cdot17$
Sun's Apogee $= 79^\circ\ 46'\ 40''\cdot79$
$2e = 118'\cdot7,\ \frac{5}{4}e^2 = 1'\cdot298$

Hence :—
Apparent Sun $= 265^\circ\ 8'$
,, Moon $= 179^\circ\ 10'$
Long. of α *Virginis* $= 185^\circ$ nearly.

---

[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 92, The Kaira (22° 45′ N, 72° 45′ E) Grant.

[2] Length of solar *Agrahāyaṇa* = 29 da. 30 n. 24 v. 2^{III} 33^{IV} (Burgess *S. Sidhānta*, XIV, 3.)

Length of lunar month = 29 da. 31 n. 50 v̇. 6^{III} 53^{IV} according to the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*.

From these calculations it follows that the last lunar month of the year was the second *Agrahāyaṇa* as this month completed the luni-solar cycle of 331 years.

The date of the inscription being the second (third ?) day of the second *Agrahāyaṇa*, was Monday, the 24th of November, 648 A.D., with this second *Agrahāyaṇa* which ended on the 20th December 648 A.D. the year 330 of the Gupta era ended. It must be admitted that the inscription as it has been read or as it was executed was slightly defective. In this case also Aryabhaṭa I's *Caitra-śuklādi* reckoning is not followed.

Here 330 of the Gupta era = 649 A.D.
Or Zero year ,, ,, = 319 A.D.

(v) Morvi Copper Plate Inscription.

पञ्चाशीत्यायुतेऽतीते समानां शतपञ्चके ।

गौप्ते ददावदो नृपः सोपरागेऽर्कमण्डले ॥

संवत् ५८५ फाल्गुन सुदि ५ ।

This inscription says that on the day of the 5th *tithi* of the light half of lunar *Phālguna* of the Gupta year 585, the King of the place, Morvi (22° 49′ N and 70° 53′ E) made a gift at the time of a solar eclipse, which happened some time before this date, on which the deed of gift, *viz.*, the copper plate in question, was executed.

To find the date of this copper plate had been a pitfall to Dr. Fleet, who mistook that the solar eclipse in question, happened on the 7th May, 905 A.D. Now the year 585 of the Guptas should be 904 A.D. and the date of execution of the plate should be February 20, 904 A.D. We looked for the solar eclipse two lunations 5 days before and 8 lunations 5 days before this date. Although there happened the two solar eclipses at these times, they were not visible in India.

We find, however, that here the Gupta year is reckoned not from the light half of *Pauṣa*, but from the light half of *Caitra* according to Āryabhaṭa I's rule. Here the year 585 of the Gupta era = 826 of the *Caitra-śuklādi* Śaka era = 904-905 A.D., or the zero year of the Gupta era was 319-20 A.D. The date of the inscription corresponds to March 3, 1941 A.D., and the elapsed years till this date = 1,036 years = 12,814 lunations = 378,405 days. The date of the copper plate works out to have been February 12, 905 A.D. The eclipse referred to in the inscription happened on November 10, 904 A.D.,[1] on which at G.M.N. or 4-44 P.M. Morvi time,

---

[1] Finally accepted by Fleet—Indian Antiquary, Nov. 1891, page 382. S. B. Dīkṣit did actually find it.

Mean Sun = 234° 22′ 29″·34
Sun's Apogee = 83° 9′ 18″·32
Mean Moon = 231° 7′ 21″·80
D. Node = 246° 7′ 31″·10
L. Perigee = 162° 10′ 10″·68

The new-moon happened at mean noon, Morvi time, the magnitude of the eclipse as visible at the place was about ·075. The beginning of the eclipse took place at 11-35 A.M. Morvi time. The end came about 12-45 noon, Morvi mean time. Duration was about 1 hr. 10 min.[1]

Secondly, if we use the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* constants, the *ahargaṇa* becomes for 826 of Śaka era + 8 lunations = 87,528. Hence the mean places with Lalla's corrections thereto, at G.M.N. of the same day become:—

Mean Sun = 228° 18′ 5″
,, Moon = 224° 27′ 36″
D. Node = 239° 44′ 56″
L. Perigee = 155° 59′ 47″.

It appears that this eclipse could be predicted by the method of the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*. The gift made by this copper plate was probably a reward to the calculator of the eclipse.

(vi) The Sixth Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

षट्पञ्चाशोत्तरेऽब्दशते (१५६) गुप्तनृपराज्यभुक्तौ महावैशाख-संवत्सरे कार्त्तिकमास-शुक्लपक्षतृतीयायां[2] ।

In the year 156 of the Guptas, which was the Jovial year styled the *Mahāvaiśākha* year, the inscription records the date as the day of the 3rd *tithi* of the light half of *Kārtika*.

Now 156 of the Gupta era = 475 A.D.
Julian days on January 1, 475 A.D. = 1,894,552 and
,, ,, ,, ,, 1900 A.D. = 2,415,021, the difference is 520,469 da. which comprise 14·24 Julian centuries + 353 days or 14·25 Julian centuries − 12·25 days. We increase 520,469 da. by 12·25 da. and arrive at the date December 20, 474 A.D., on which at G.M.T. 6 hrs. or 11-4 A.M. Ujjayinī M.T.,

Mean Jupiter = 170° 54′ 6″·57
Mean Sun = 269° 47′ 11″·66

---

[1] The above circumstances of the eclipse have been calculated by my collaborator, Mr. N. C. Lahiri, M.A.

[2] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 104, the Khôh Grant I.

Hence we calculate that mean Jupiter and mean sun became nearly equal 289 days later, *i.e.* on the 5th October, 475 A.D. at 6 A.M. G.M.T.

Mean Jupiter = 194° 55′ 34″·42
Mean Sun = 194° 38′ 19″·15.

It is thus seen that the mean places would become almost equal in 6 hrs. more. For the above mean places, however, the equations of apsis for Jupiter and Sun were respectively —2° 6′ 4″·08 and —1° 45′ 2″·70. Hence their apparent places become as follows :—

Appt. Jupiter = 192° 49′ 30″·34
,, Sun = 192° 53′ 16″·45.

Thus they were very nearly in conjuction at 6 hrs. G.M.T. on the 5th October, 475 A.D.

According to Brahmagupta, Jupiter rises on the east on getting at the anomaly of conjunction of 14°. This takes place in 15·5 days. Hence the date for the heliacal rising of Jupiter becomes the 20th October, 475 A.D. at G.M.T. 18 hrs. when,

Appt. Sun = 208° 45′
and ,, Jupiter = 196° 20′ nearly.

Thus Jupiter was heliacally visible about October 20, 475 A.D.

The actual date of the inscription was October 18, 475 A.D.[1]

Here on the day of the heliacal visibility, the sun was in the *nakṣatra Viśākhā* but Jupiter was 3° 40′ behind the first point of the *nakṣatra*-division, the vernal equinox of the year being taken as the first point of the Hindu sphere. According to the rule of naming Jupiter's years as given in the modern *Sūrya-siddhānta* xiv, 16-17, it was sun's *nakṣatra*, on new-moon prior to October 18, 475 A.D., the date of the inscription, which took place on October 15-16 of the year, gave the name of the year. The sun was in the *nakṣatra Viśākhā* and the year begun was consequently the *Mahāvaiśākha* year of Jupiter.

This inscription also shows that the Gupta era began from 319 A.D.

(vii) The Seventh Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

त्रिषष्ट्युत्तरेऽब्दशते (१६३) गुप्तनृपराज्यभुक्तौ महा-आश्वयुज-संवत्सरे चैत्रमास-शुक्लपक्ष-द्वितीयायाम्[2] ।

---

[1] *Kali ahargaṇa* on the day of the 3rd *tithi* of *kārtika* light half in the Gupta year 156 was 1,306,377, and Julian days = 1,894,843.

[2] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 110, the Khôh Grant II.

The inscription records the date as the year 163 of the Gupta kings, the Jovial year called *Mahā-Āśvayuja*, the day of the 2nd *tithi* of the light half of *Caitra*.

The year 163 of the Gupta era or 482 A.D. was similar to the year 1941 A.D. and the date to March 30, 1941. In 1,459 sidereal years (1,941—482 = 1,459) there are 532,909 days, which are applied backward to the 30th March, 1941 A.D., and we arrive at the tentative date of the inscription as March 8, 482 A.D. On this date at G.M.N., we had—

Mean Jupiter = 29° 58′ 8″·24
,, Sun = 347° 12′ 47″·11.

Here, Jupiter's heliacal setting is yet to come in about 30 days. Hence on April 7, 482 A.D.—

Mean Jupiter = 32° 27′ 46″·22
,, Sun = 16° 46′ 57″·02 at G.M.N.

Thus the heliacal setting of Jupiter took place in two days more according to Bramhagupta's rule on the 9th April, 482 A.D. and the new-moon happened on the 5th April, 482 A.D. when the sun was on the *nakṣatra Bharaṇī*. Hence the year to come got its name *Āśvayuja* year. But the tentative date of the inscription was obtained as March 8, 482 A.D., which was 28 days before the new-moon, on about the 5th April, 482 A.D. This needs elucidation.

Here by coming down by 30 days we arrive at the lunar month of *Vaiśākha* as it is reckoned now. But in the year 482 A.D., *i.e.* 17 years before the year 499 A.D. when the Hindu scientific *siddhāntas* came into being, the calendar formation rule was different. In our gauge year 1941 A.D. the moon of the last quarter got conjoined with *Citrā* or *α Virginis* on the 20th January before sunrise. Hence as pointed out before in this gauge year 1941 A.D. also, the lunar *Āgrahāyaṇa* of the early Gupta period ended on the 27th January, 1941. Thus the lunar month that is now called *Pauṣa* in 1941 A.D. was called *Agrahāyaṇa* in 482 A.D. Hence the lunar *Caitra* of 482 A.D. is now the lunar *Vaiśākha* of 1941.

The date of the inscription is thus correctly obtained as THE 7TH APRIL, 482 A.D.; the Jovial year begun was a *Mahā-Āśvayuja* year. This instance also shows that the zero year of the Gupta era was approximately the same as the Christian year 319 A.D.

(viii) The Eighth Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date.

एकनवत्युत्तरेऽब्दशते (१९१) गुप्तनृपराज्यभुक्तौ श्रीमति प्रवर्धमान-महाचैत्रसंवत्सरे माघमास-बहुलपक्षतृतीयायाम्[1] ।

---

[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 114, the Mājhgavāṁ Grant.

This inscription records the date as the year 191 of the Gupta emperors, the Jovial year of *Mahācaitra*, the day of the third *tithi* of the dark half of lunar *Māgha*.

We first work out the date on the hypothesis that the Gupta year was in this case also reckoned from the light half of lunar *Pauṣa*. The Gupta year 191, on this hypothesis would be similar to the Christian year 1931 and the date of the inscription would correspond with March 6, 1931. Now this Gupta year 191 = 510 A.D. would be later than the time of Āryabhaṭa I, *viz.* 499 A.D., by 11 years.

The elapsed years (sidereal) are 1,421, which comprise 17,576 lunations = 519,029 days. These days are applied backward to the date, March 6, 1931 A.D., and we arrive at the date, February 12, 510 A.D.

On this date, February 12, 510 A.D., at G.M.N., we had—

Mean Jupiter = 158° 8′ 3″·87
,, Sun = 323° 46′ 13″·72.

We find easily that the sun and Jupiter had reached equality in mean longitude in 183·5 days before, when at G.M.T. 0 hr.

Mean Sun = 142° 54′ 14″·50
,, Jupiter = 142° 52′ 48″·57.

If these were the longitudes as corrected by the equations of apsis, then the heliacal visibility would come according to the rule of Bramhagupta about 15·5 days later. The mean longitudes 15·5 days later become—

For Sun = 158° 10′ 54″·21
,, Jupiter = 144° 10′ 7″·25.

These longitudes corrected by the equations of apsis become—

For Sun = 156° 3′ 27″
,, Jupiter = 146° 16′ 41″.

Hence the true heliacal visibility would come in 4 days more. We have here (1) gone up by 183·5 days and (2) come down by 15·5 days. On the whole we have gone up by 168 days or 5 lunations and 21 *tithis*. Thus on the day of the heliacal visibility of Jupiter, which came in four days more, we would have to go up by 164 days = 5 lunations+17 *tithis*. This interval we have to apply backward to the 18th *tithi* of *Māgha* and we arrive at the 1st day of *Bhādrapada*. The date of the heliacal visibility would thus be September 1, 509 A.D., and at G.M.N. the sun's true longitude would be 160° 9′ nearly, which shows that the sun would reach the *Hastā* division. On the preceding day of the new-moon, the sun would be in the *nakṣatra U.Phalgunī* and the Jovial year begun would be styled *Phālguna* or the *Mahāphālguna* year. This result does not agree with the statement of the inscription.

It now appears that after the year 499 A.D. or Āryabhaṭa I's time, the reckoning of the years of the Gupta era was changed from the light half of *Pauṣa* to the light half of *Caitra*, according to Āryabhaṭa I's rule:

युगवर्षमासदिवसाः समं प्रवृत्तास्ते चैत्रशुक्लादेः ।

Kālakriyā, .

'The *Yuga*, year, month and the first day of the year started simultaneously from the beginning of the light half of *Caitra*.'

After the year 499 A.D. all the Indian eras slowly changed their year-reckoning from the winter solstice day to the next vernal equinox day, *i.e.* the year beginning was shifted forward by 3 lunations. Hence in finding in our own time a year similar to the Gupta year of times later than 499 A.D., we have sometimes to compare it to the present-day Śaka year and not to the Christian year.

Hence the year 191 of the Gupta era = the year 432 of the Śaka era. In our times the Śaka year 1853 is similar to the Gupta year 191 and the date of the inscription corresponds to February 24, 1932 A.D. The number of sidereal years elapsed up to this date=1,421 = 519,029 days, which applied backward lead to the date of the inscription as FEBRUARY 2, 511 A.D.

The date of the heliacal rising arrived at before was September 1, 509 A.D. The next heliacal rising would take place 399 days or 13·5 lunations later. The date for it works out to have been October 5, 510 A.D., and the sun had the longitude of 194° 24′ 51″ at G.M.N. At the preceding new-moon, which followed the previous heliacal setting of Jupiter, the sun had the longitude of about 179° and was in the *nakṣatra Citrā* or the Jovial year begun was *Caitra* or the *Mahā-Caitra* year, as it is styled in the inscription.

In the present case the year 191 of the Gupta emperors = 432 of the Śaka emperors = 510-11 A.D. Thus the year 0 of the Gupta emperors = 241 of the Śaka emperors = 319-320 A.D.

(ix) The Ninth Gupta-Inscription-date.

नवोत्तरेऽब्दशतद्वये गुप्तनृपराज्यभुक्तौ श्रीमति प्रवर्धमानविजय-राज्य-महा-आश्वयुजसंवत्सरे चैत्रशुक्लपक्षत्रयोदश्याम् ।

The year and date as given in this inscription is 209 of the Gupta era, the day of the 13th *tithi* of the light half of *Caitra*. Following the *Caitra-śukla* reckoning, the corresponding date in our time is the 11th April, 1930. We have to apply 1,402 sidereal years, or more correctly, 17,341 lunations = 512,090 days backward to this date of April 11, 1930. We thus arrive at the date of the inscription, MARCH 19, 528 A.D.

On this date at G.M.N,. we had—

Mean Jupiter	= 347° 37′ 23″·90
,, Sun	= 358° 53′ 52″·27
Jupiter's Perihelion	= 350° 51′ 21″·61
Sun's Apogee	= 77° 42′ 56″
,, Eccentricity	= 0·017301
Jupiter's Eccentricity	= 0·046175.

Hence :—
Jupiter as corrected by the equation of apsis = 347° 19′
Appt. Sun = 358° 5′

It appears that the heliacal rising of Jupiter would happen 3 days later and the preceding new-moon happened 13 days before, *i.e.* on the 6th March, 528 A.D.

For on that date at G.M.N., we had—

Mean Sun	= 346° 5′ 3″·98
,, Moon	= 343° 5′ 27″·90
Lunar Perigee	= 313° 57′ 36″·84
Sun's Apogee	= 77° 42′ 56″

Hence :—
Appt. Sun = 349° 4′
Appt. Moon = 345° 43′ nearly.

The new-moon happened at about 8 hours later. The sun was in the *nakṣatra Revatī*, and the Jovial year begun was *Āśvayuja* or the *Mahā-Āśvayuja* year as the inscription says.

Here the year 209 of the Gupta era = 528 A.D. = year 440 of Śaka era.

The Zero year of the Gupta era = 319 A.D. = year 241 of Śaka era.

(x) The Tenth Instance of Gupta-Inscription-date—The Nepal Inscription.

संवत् ३८६ ज्यैष्ठमास-शुक्लपक्ष-प्रतिपदि रोहिणीनक्षत्रयुक्ते मुहूर्त्ते प्रशस्तेऽभिजिति[1] ।

Here the date is stated to have been 386 of the (Gupta) era, the day of the 1st *tithi* of lunar *Jyaiṣṭha*; the moon was in the *nakṣatra*-division *Rohiṇī* and the 8th part (*muhūrta*) of the day.

The equivalent years are 627 of Śaka era = 705 A.D.; we readily see that the corresponding day in our own time was May 20, 1939. We arrive at the date, April 30, 705 A.D.

Now on April 30, 705 A.D., at G.M.T. 0 hr.

Mean Sun	= 40° 54′ 10″·97
,, Moon	= 62° 0′ 9″·07
L. Perigee	= 322° 39′ 15″·02.

On April 29, 705 A.D., at G.M.T. 0 hr.

Mean Sun	= 39° 55′ 2″·64
,, Moon	= 48° 49′ 34″·04
L. Perigee	= 322° 32′ 33″·97

Thus on April 29, 705 A.D., at G.M.T. 0 hr.
Apparent Sun = 41° 12′
,, Moon = 53° 50′.

---

[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, page 95.

Hence on this day, at the stated hour, the 1st *tithi* was over; we have to deduct about 3° 3′ from these longitudes to allow for the shifting of the equinoxes from 499 A.D. The date of the inscription is thus April 28, 705 A.D.

According to the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* calculations, the *ahargaṇa* at the midnight (mean) of Ujjayinī of April 28, 705 A.D. = 14,647. In order to have the mean places at the G.M.T. 0 hr. of 29th April, we have to take the *ahargaṇa* = 14,647 days + 5 hrs. and 4 mins.

The mean places are:—

Mean Sun = 36° 52′ 12″
,, Moon = 45° 43′ 58″
L. Perigee = 318° 56′ 2″
Sun's Apogee = 77° 0′ 0″

Hence:—
Apparent Sun = 38° 16′ 23″
,, Moon = 50° 44′ 30″

Note.—To the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* mean places, we have applied Lalla's corrections which are well known in Hindu Astronomy.

Hence on the 29th April at G.M.T. 0 hr. or 5-4 A.M. of Ujjayinī mean time, the 1st *tithi* was over, the sun was in the *nakṣatra* *Kṛttikā* and the moon in the *nakṣatra*-division *Rohiṇī*, which extends from 40° to 53° 20′ of the Hindu longitudes. The date of the inscription was the previous day, THE 28TH APRIL, 705 A.D., as has been shown before.

Now Gupta year 386 = Śaka year 627 = 705 A.D.
∴ Gupta year Zero = Śaka year 241 = 319 A.D.

(xi) The Eleventh Example of Gupta-Inscription-date.

संवत्सर १०० ९० ९ (१९९) महामार्गवर्षे कार्त्तिक १० [1] ।

The date of the inscription is the Gupta year 199, the *Mahāmārga* Jovial year, the day of the 10th *tithi* of lunar *Kārtika* which corresponds to November 21 of 1939 A.D. of our times. The elapsed sidereal year to this date = 1,421 = 17,576 lunations = 519,029 days.

Hence the date of the Inscription was OCTOBER 29, 518 A.D.[2] On this date at G.M.N.—

Mean Jupiter = 62° 34′ 9″·59
,, Sun = 219° 6′ 50″·17
,, Moon = 332° 22′ 20″·47.

Now 173·5 days before October 29, 518 A.D., the mean longitudes were for—

Jupiter = 48° 8′ 46″·95
Sun = 48° 6′ 14″·86

---

[1] *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 284 *et seq.*

[2] Kielhorn's approximate date was 518 A.D., October 15 or September 15—*idem*—page 290.

and these are practically equal. Hence according to Brahmagupta's rule Jupiter should rise heliacally 15·5 days later, *i.e.* 158 days before October 29, 518 A.D., *i.e.* on May 24, 518 A.D., when the mean sun had at G.M.N. the longitude of 63° 23′ 54″ and the mean moon, at the same hour, the longitude of 50° 40′ 6″. Thus the new-moon came on the day following, the sun having a small positive equation. The new-moon-sun was in the *nakṣatra* division *Mṛgaśiras* (53° 20′ to 66° 40′ of longitude) and the Jovial year begun was *Mārga* or the *Mahā-Mārga* year as the inscription says.

Thus the Gupta year 199 =518 A.D.
∴ Gupta year Zero= 319 A.D.

CONCLUSION

We have here proved from 11 concrete statements found in the inscriptions which have used either the Gupta or the Valabhī era that—

(1) The Gupta and Valabhī eras were but one and the same era.

(2) It was most probable that the era in question had been originally started by the Gupta emperors and was given a new name by the Valabhī princes who were vassals of the Gupta emperors.[1]

(3) The date from which the Gupta era was started was from December 20, 318 A.D., when began the zero year of the era from the day of the winter solstice.

(4) That the Gupta era agrees with the Christian era from 319 A.D. till about 499 A.D., the date of Āryabhaṭa I, up to which the year reckoning began from the light half of *Pauṣa*.

(5) From some year which was different for different localities, after 499 A.D., the beginning of the year was shifted forward from the light half of *Pauṣa* to the light half of *Caitra*, conformably with Āryabhaṭa I's *dictum* of beginning the year from the vernal equinox day, so that the 'year of confusion' was of 15 or 16 lunations. This is evident from the inscriptions dealt with as Nos. v, viii, x and xi. This change has been noticed in the inscriptions of those localities where Āryabhaṭa I's reputation as the foremost Indian astronomer had been unquestionably accepted. In such cases the Gupta years correspond more conformably to the *Caitra-śuklādi* Śaka years and that the zero year of the Gupta emperors is taken as the Śaka year 241 (*Caitra-śuklādi*) which is the same as the Christian year 319-320 A.D.

To sum up: the zero year of the Gupta era was originally the same as the year 319 A.D. and in times later than 499 A.D., this zero year was in some cases taken equivalent to 319-320 A.D. Further the Gupta and Valabhi eras were the same era. It is hoped that further speculations as to this era would be considered inadmissible.

---

[1] Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, Plate No. 18, the Mandasor stone inscription of Kumar Gupta and Bandhu Varman will be discussed in a separate paper on the Saṁvat era.

One point more that we want to lay stress on, is that in verifying the Jovial years as stated in the Gupta Inscriptions, we have followed the *Sūryasiddhānta* rules given in Chapter XIV, 16-17. Dīkṣita, however, appears to have followed the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* rules and was led to conflicting results as to the zero year of the Gupta-Valabhi era as varying from 240–242 of the Śaka years of *Caitra-śuklādi* reckoning. We have shown in this paper that the Gupta Inscriptions using the Jovial years have consistently followed the *Sūryasiddhānta* rules. This work even in its present form has preserved some of the rules which were followed before the time of Āryabhaṭa I.

* * *

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.
Volume VIII, 1942.
ARTICLE NO. 3.

Jajnagar Expedition of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh—English Translation and Text of an Extract from 'Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī'.

BY N. B. ROY.

The unique manuscript of *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* in Persian [1], preserved in the Bankipore Library, constitutes a source of first-rate importance for the history of the reign of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh of Tug͟hluq dynasty. It was composed by an anonymous author at the dictates of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh [2], as is clear from the following verse:—

کتاب سیرت فیروز شاهی　　مرتب شد بتائید الهی
باملاء شاه جهان شد کتابت　　طریق سلاطین و آداب شاهی

It is a compendium of the various activities of Sulṭān Fīrūz's reign, e.g. his campaigns, works of public utility, canals, hospices, hospitals, buildings and monuments. It is written in an elegant and ornamental style. The sentences are short, but often abstruse, and full of metaphors, similies and high-sounding expressions usually characteristic of Persian writers. A singular feature of the work, which gives it a distinctive place in Persian literature, is that though it is written in prose, in places it reads like verse. In addition to the musical swing and jingle of rhythm, characteristic of Persian verse, the author invariably complicates the sense by using almost similar words varying in the number of diacritical marks, and thus renders it difficult to understand even a simple narrative.

The history of Orissa from the earliest times down to the 16th century is wrapped in obscurity. Except for a few inscriptions, there is hardly any historical account which lifts the veil of mist that shrouds the history of this land. The extract from *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* published in the following pages helps materially in clearing up this mist. It supplies us not only with details about the expedition made by Sulṭān Fīrūz into this country but also throws light upon the wealth and prosperity of this kingdom, the splendour of the temple of Jagannath at Puri and the peculiar rites of worship that were prevalent there in the 14th century A.D. Of particular interest in this extract is the account of the aborigines of south Bihar and some of the characteristics of these interesting people who have survived in almost inaccessible regions from the dawn of history down to the present day.

---

[1] No. 547, vol. VII, of the *Bankipore Catalogue.*

[2] According to Shams-ul-Ulema Hidayet Hossain the work was dictated by Sulṭān Fīrūz. He based his opinion on the word *Imlā* which means dictation (*J.R.A.S.B.*, July 1914, XCVIII). The present work, however, deals with such varied and technical topics, e.g. astronomy, pharmacopœia and its stylistic peculiarities vary so widely from those of *Futuḥāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, which was composed by Sulṭān Fīrūz (vide *J.R.A.S.B.*, Aug. 1941) that we have hardly any doubt that the work was written at the dictates but not to the dictation of Sulṭān Fīrūz.

Sīrat-i-Fīrūz (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's copy of Bankipore MS, p. 1).

The description of the Jajnagar expedition given in this extract is, however, of special interest and importance. In *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* by Shams-i-Siraj-i-'Afīf, it is merely stated that Sulṭān Fīrūz marched from Bihar to Cuttack-Banarasi. The account in *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* is more detailed, but it does neither describe the route of Sulṭān Fīrūz's march to Cuttack nor his wide-spread ranging across the country. The present extract surpasses in detail not only all other contemporary and later accounts of the Muslim chroniclers but gives an account of various stages of the Sulṭān's march to Cuttack.

Sulṭān Fīrūz set out on this expedition from Jaunpur towards the middle of October, 1360 A.D.[1] Ascending the throne of Delhi at a difficult time in 1351 A.D., he had restored order and security in the kingdom and recovered the imperial territories from Oudh to the Kusi by defeating Sulṭān Shamsuddīn Ilyās Shāh of Lakhnauti in 1352-1353 A.D. During 1353–58 he recuperated the prosperity of the empire by his beneficent legislation and irrigation activities but the independence of the two eastern kingdoms, Bengal and Orissa, galled his pride. Accordingly he led a second expedition into Bengal in 1358-9 A.D. During his halt at Jaunpur, (July–Sept., 1360), on his return journey to Delhi he conceived the idea of making a lightning raid into Jajnagar from the north. He started from Jaunpur with a light cavalry and reached Bihar about December, 1360. From this place he marched towards modern Pachet through the undulating plateaus of southern Bihar. The area constituted a beautiful landscape of south Bihar, with low hills and dales, dotted with orchards abounding in various kinds of fruits. Game was plentiful in this region, and the Sulṭān indulged his love of chase by shooting various kinds of deer and numbers of strange animals. After a delightful spell of hunting, the Sulṭān burst upon Sikhar in the Manbhum district. The Raja of this place was an important chief with thirty-six minor chiefs as his vassals. The Raja fled on the surprise attack of the Muslim army. The garrison in the capital put up a stern fight, but was overpowered. Thereupon the Muslim army pushed southward and marched through the defiles of Manbhum and Singhbhum, the track lay through steep plateaus and thick forests skirted by chains of low hills. The Sulṭān had planned beforehand the various stages of journey, but he could not march more than twenty miles a day. The first town of the kingdom of Jajnagar upon which the imperial army broke was Tinānagar. This place had so far been immune from Muslim invasions, but the inhabitants did not submit without a struggle. After the reduction of the town, the imperial army hewed its way to Kinianagar (Khichinganagar) which was a prosperous town mainly inhabited by Brahmins. After a short refreshing halt at this place, Sulṭān Fīrūz made a turning movement southward and sweeping through Keonjhar reached the frontier of the Cuttack district. This movement was so swift as to outstrip the news of the advance of the Muslim army, which had arrived at Saranghar, five miles southwest of Cuttack. The king Bhānudeva III fled from the fortress of Saranghar, leaving the task of defence to the garrison who offered a brave fight but was defeated. As a result of the flight of Bhanudeva the whole country lay at the mercy of Sulṭān Fīrūz. First of all he marched to the royal capital Cuttack and after the occupation of this place sallied forth to Puri.

---

[1] *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, B. I. Series, p. 129; *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, B. I. Series, p. 232, gives this date.

Here stood the famous temple of Jagannath which has been a hallowed spot of the Hindus for ages. The eternal deep rolled by it; artizans had lavished all their skill in the construction and decoration of this temple. For the celebration of the worship of Jagannath, situated in this exquisite spot on the seashore, the Ganga kings of Orissa had made magnificent endowments: thirty thousand dinars were expended annually on the food dedicated to the deity at the time of worship; daughters of the nobility devoted themselves to menial work in the temple and won favour in God's eyes. Ascetics who had earned spiritual grace by mortifying their flesh, squatted in front of the temple; their matted hair, emaciated body, sallow countenance, and sunken eyes bespoke utter contempt of the world and its vanity. For paying homage to these holy persons, people flocked from far-off places. Here thronged people who sought relief from the sufferings of the earthly tabernacle by most ghastly and revolting orgies. Some earned eternal beatitude by consuming themselves in the flames of fire, others by leaping into the deep sea, others again immolated themselves by slicing off their limbs.

Sulṭān Fīrūz destroyed the shrine, defaced the deity, and obliterated all vestiges of this temple by throwing the debris into the waters of the sea. The region round Puri was studded with many magnificent shrines; there was the temple of Megheśvara (Viṣṇu) at Bhubaneśvara, built by Svapnesvaradeva during the reign of Anangabhima II[1]. It had a beautiful garden and a tank within its precints and maintained a seminary for the study of the Vedas. There were other temples, e.g. the famous temple of the Sun-God at Konārak in the district of Puri, erected by Narasingh I [1], (1238–1264 A.D.), the temple of Viṣṇu at Ekāmra (Bhubaneśvara) consecrated to the triple deities of Balaram, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā, built during the reigns of Bhānudeva I [2], and the temple of Cateśvara (Śiva) in the Padampur pargana of the Cuttack district.[3] It is not stated whether these temples also were destroyed but that some of the images of the temples in the neighbourhood of Puri were removed and carried to Delhi is explicitly stated.

---

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VI, pp. 198–203.

Scores of thousands of people of Orissa had taken refuge inside the Chilka Lake to escape from the fury of the imperial army. They were attacked in turn and a large number of them were put to the sword, while the rest offered submission. The victorious campaign was concluded by an elephant hunt in Padamtala in the Baramba State of Orissa, and the Sulṭān returned to Kārā via Sambalpur [4] with immense spoils and a long train of captives.

It was an audacious campaign, brilliantly conceived and mightily executed. No other Muslim Sulṭān had accomplished such a task. The invading hosts had hitherto attacked Orissa, along the sea-coast either from the north-east or from the south-west. No other general ever dared to force his way to Cuttack from the north through the aboriginal tracts and the impenetrable defiles and the dense forests. The successful execution of this campaign testifies to Fīrūz's undoubted skill as a general. This master-stroke, coupled with the equally successful (though hard-won exploit in Sind and in Nagarkot), refute the charge of military incompetence that has been levelled against this Sulṭān by Haig, Lanepoole and Smith.

The account sketched above also removes all doubts regarding the location of the kingdom of Jajnagar and the route of Sulṭān Fīrūz's march to Cuttack. From the meagre account of ʻAfīf, and the names of a few places, e.g. Gadha-Katanka, Ratanpur, and Saranghar, mentioned in *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Major Raverty put forward the incorrect hypothesis that Sulṭān Fīrūz marched from Bihar to Ratanpur in Bilaspur district of the Central Provinces of the present day, and thence through Jajnagar to Puri. This view was supported by R. D. Banerji, and as a result Jajnagar and Orissa were regarded as two separate kingdoms. The detailed description of the stages of the Sulṭān's march would make it abundantly clear that Raverty not only confused the route of march but made the confusion worse confounded by regarding Jajnagar and Orissa as two separate kingdoms.

---

[1] *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. II, pp. 145–163.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XIII, pp. 150–155.

[3] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Old Series, vol. LXVII, 1808, part 1, pp. 317–327.

[4] *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* (Dr. Raghubir Sinh's copy of R.A.S.B. MS., p. 104).

In the preparation of this paper, I have received invaluable help from Prof. Mahfuz-ul Haq. Dr. Baini Prashad, the translator of *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, an erudite scholar in Persian, but widely known for his researches in Zoology, had thoroughly revised the English translation for me at an enormous expense of his time. P. Acharyee, Archaeological Officer, Mayurbhanj State, helped me materially in identifying the places mentioned in the text. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who initiated me into the study of Persian, offered me the use of his MS. of *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*. Dr. Raghubir Sinh, Heir-apparent, Sitamau State, lent me his copy of the MS. of *Munshāt-i-Māhrū*. My grateful thanks are due to all of them.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

In 762 A.H. [1] news was brought by travellers of the occurrence of wild elephants—whose form cannot be pictured by imagination—, in the kingdom of Jajnagar [2], which was situated along the eastern sea-coast on the extreme border of Hindustan; (they stated that) there were thousands upon thousands of these clever and mighty (animals). In this wilderness are found savages who have never set their eyes on civilized men. They cannot understand the language of the civilized people, nor can the latter comprehend their speech (of the savages). Their dress consists of peacock-feathers, and their food the flesh of buffaloes; the trees are their dwellings, and leaves and flowers their beds [1]; their drinking bowls are the palms of their hands with which they sip water from streams by day and night. They are nude, bare-footed men, devoid of all humane sentiments; they shun the haunts of men. They employ a peculiar signal when they want succour from their own tribesmen, at the time of concentration of troops. (When) bodies of soldiers and men advance to attack them, one of them lops off an earlobe with a sharp instrument, and shows the fellow-tribesmen blood on his person. In a short while, hundreds of men gather together for their help and succour. Like wild elephants, they, with their shouts, cries and calls, hurl back the attacks of furious elephants in such contests, but when they notice the dust raised up by an (attacking) cavalry, and are unable to come up to it, they break up their formations and like monkeys climb up the trees.

---

[1] According to *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (B. I. Series, p. 129) Sulṭān Fīrūz spent the rains at Jaunpur and started from this place in Dhihijjah 761 A.H. which would correspond roughly to October, 1360 A.D., *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* also supports it (*T.A.*, B. I. Series, p. 232). It appears that Sulṭān Fīrūz started from Bihar in Muharram, 762 A.H. (December 1360).

[2] The description contained in *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* and in *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* and the reference in *Makhzan-i-Afghanāh*, to this kingdom of Jajnagar, refute Raverty's view, that Jajnagar and Orissa were two different kingdoms. In the Eng. trans. of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (B. I. Series, p. 588) Raverty wrote, 'Jajnagar appears to have been bounded on the east by the range of hills forming the present west boundary of Udisah-Jag-nathh, Katasin, on the Maha-nadi, being the nearest frontier town towards the Lakhanawati territory. Farther N. it was bounded towards the E. by the river called Braminy by some English writers—. On the W. it does not seem to have extended beyond the Wana-Ganga, and its feeder the Kahan; but its southern boundary was the Gudawuri, and S.W. lay Talinganah'. R. D. Banerji supported Raverty's view. According to him 'Fīrūz Tughluq advanced from Bihar towards Gadhakatanka. Jajnagar lay at the extremity of this province which is the same as the British district of Jubbulpur....'. After passing through Jajnagar territories Fīrūz Tughluq entered the kindgom of Bhanudeva III (i.e. Orissa) (*History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 282). This MS., however, says that Fīrūz marched from Bihar to Sikhar (Sikharbhumi) which is in modern Manbhum district of the province of Bihar. From Sikhar Fīrūz strode forward to the town of Tinānagar, thence to Kiniānagar which appears to be an abbreviation of Khichingānagar, the ancient capital of Mayurbhanj. According to the present MS. Tinanagar and Kinianagar were included within the kingdom of Jajnagar. Thus if R. D. Banerji's opinion is accepted, the kingdom of Jajnagar extended from the eastern boundaries of modern Central Provinces right up to the limits of Bengal. Cuttack, Puri, Lake Chilka were also parts of Jajnagar. Where then did the kingdom of Orissa lie? In *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* (Dr. Raghubir Sinh's copy

If even a single plot of this land covered with the susan flowers were extolled by a thousand tongues, it would not be possible to describe an infinitesimal part of its excellence. All the people of this country are as black as crows, and their dwellings are always located in orchards where they live like crows in their rookeries. All people of this country are warriors and independent, but affable and silly. Their garden walls are made of the black Indian soil. Their complexion resembles that of the Sudanese [2]. What value is there, in their darkness

---

of R.A.S.B. MS., p. 90) it is definitely stated that both Jajnagar and Orissa were identical. *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* says:—

دوم فتح شهر .... که از احصار اعظم .... ملک جاجنگر
است و ولایت او اڈیسه میخوانند ٥

The account of *Makhzan-i-Afghanāh* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's copy) also corroborates our view.

[1] The attraction of the Santhals for woods and aversion to settled habitation is borne out by Dalton, 'In marked contrast to the Kolarians of the Munda and Ho divisions, the Santhals, as a rule, care little for permanently locating themselves. A country, denuded of the primeval forest which affords them the hunting-grounds they delight in and the virgin soil they prefer, does not attract them (quoted in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XII, Old Edition, 1872, pp. 238–246).

[2] The people referred to here are evidently the Santhals, the pitch darkness of whose complexion is attested by Dalton, in the *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*. 'The Santhals' according to him belong to the dark races of India. The Cheros, Hos and Mundas are, on the whole, fairer. Mr. Mann remarks of them, that their cast of countenance almost approaches the Negro type.

having an affinity with that of the Sudanese; the seed of darkness pervades their minds, and their temperament is so malevolent that it would not wear off even by constant association with Christ, the son of Mary; all that is called black (Sawda). is held dear by them. Their palms dyed with myrtle appear as if they have been stained with the blood of the lover and that of the heart of the beloved.

Verses.—

They have tinged their hands with the blood of their dear ones,
Their finger-tips they have stained with the colour of the red-berry;
Their faces beam with joy; smile and laughter are patent on their lips;
Their minds overflow with love; their heads are full of youthful intoxication.
How (beautiful) are the faces, how (lovely) the locks of their hair;
The former (faces) are the harbingers of a happy life, the latter (hairs) an excuse for enjoyment.[1]

In every orchard are found various kinds of trees, and such varieties of fruits and ripe pomegranates, as (human) eyes have never beheld anywhere. Oranges so beautiful in colour, and which have never borne the hardships of transit since the beginning of the world, have neither been seen nor tasted by anybody. Every cocoa-nut tree vies in height with the sun; the sickle of the moon does not reach the fruits, and they are safe from the hands of thieves. It is a straight, slender tree and its branches are so high that they do not recline like the sun and the moon. There are other kinds of edible fruits in Hindustan, but the cocoa-nut surpasses all of them and is never niggardly in its yield. They rest underneath the shade of a (natural) basket which has been constructed without the help of the tools of a basket-maker or of a potter's wheel. They are filled with a sugared drink and are, as it were, the breasts of the orchard, which like a kind foster-mother suckles the people promptly and eagerly. Sucking the human breast after two years and a half, which marks the time for weaning, is forbidden and unlawful, but sucking the breast of the garden at all ages is lawful and permissible. The offspring of Adam does not obtain milk from the mother's breasts without crying, but this breast readily offers its milk of its own free will. The human nurse is stingy with her milk but the motherlike cocoa-nut tree offers liberally her milk. The milk of women is sticky and thick, that of the cocoa-nut is transparent and thin. Sucking the milk provides sustenance for the children (only), but the drinking of the cocoa-nut juice is permissible for all women and men. In addition to these trees, there are others which are peculiar and indigenous to the country of Hind, as for example, the areca-nut palm, in search of which denizens of the world would even give their life. Each nut (of this palm) hangs like a pearl in the ear of the straight cypress-like tree, or each of them is enclosed like the grain of life in the sheath of the heart. To exhilarate the spirits of their dear ones, lively-tempered persons crack the nuts into bits, and powder them like alkali in the mill of their teeth, and until its particles are leavened with the green leaf (betel), the lips of the moon-faced (beloved) do not become rosy, and the teeth of the coquettes do not take on the red tint. The palm trees, which have their heads lifted to the sky, on a dark night appear as if veiled. Their trunks stand out in the groves of the orchards like the columns of the royal court and their leaves are woven (as it were) into a green brocade with the warp and woof of the carded cotton thread.

---

[1] Regarding their locks of hair, Col. Dalton remarks, 'The heads of young girls are generally uncovered, displaying a mass of black, rather coarse, but sometimes wavy hair, gathered into a large knob at one side of the back of the head ornamented with flowers or with tufts of coloured silk'. Their delight in dancing and playing the flute is well known. Col. Dalton remarks, 'The sound of their flutes and drums attract the maidens, who smooth and adjust their long hair, and, adding to it a flower or two, blithely join them'. Then begins a hilarious dance in which are seen 'the maidens decked with garlands of flowers and peacock's feathers, holding their hands and closely compressed, so that the breast of the girl touches the back of the man next to her, going round in a great circle, limbs all moving as if they belonged to one creature, feet falling in perfect cadence, the dancers in the ring singing responsive to the musicians in the centre'.

The flowing streams are the cheer of life and spirits; the towns are flourishing, there are majestic edifices, goods beyond enumeration, property without limits; such is the country of the unbelievers [1]. By universal agreement, the imprisonment and massacre of the inhabitants of this land is permissible. The inhabitants of this country are polytheists; they are always sunk in a state of drunken stupor and given to idol-worship. They constitute a distinct tribe of Mulhids and Ibahiyats. They have made the idols the objects of their worship and have erected temples in every town; the most famous of these is the shrine of Jagannath, like that of Somnath on the coast of the Arabian sea, Lat, Ujja and Minat in Arabia; every temple has its special store of treasures, and there is a manufactory for every special commodity attached to each.

When the news of the charms of this tract was conveyed to the royal ears, it was honoured by his attention, and the attention of his gracious mind was focussed on journeying towards that quarter, with a view to extirpating Rai Gajpat, massacring the unbelievers, demolishing their temples, hunting elephants and getting a glimpse of their enchanting country.

---

[1] All the contemporary chroniclers speak in eloquent terms about the prosperity of this country, 'Afif (B. I. Series, p. 165), *Munshāt-i-Māhrū*, pp. 101-102.

Verse.—

When I heard that the country of Jajnagar is endowed
with such excellence,
My heart naturally became inclined to hunt in Jajnagar.

When this design became patent in the mind of the world-adorning king, who is the shadow of God, (May through the grace of God, the shadow of his greatness be everlasting !!), he ordered that strong armies, and brave regiments (of) stalwart fighters fully versed in warfare, inured to the hardships of marches, possessed of reckless daring, and knowledge of different parts of the world

Verse.—

(Men who are) skilled in warfare; well-versed in the strategy
of war.

be assembled. Orders were conveyed to them to follow the gracious royal stirrups, well-equipped and accoutred. And they were directed to relinquish heavy loads and equipment, and carry only a light outfit suited for rapid marches, and they were forbidden to take with them women and children, wives and concubines whose presence in this campaign would be a source of worry; and also they should not try (to carry) large stocks of provisions. Having made these arrangements, he, under the shadow of divine protection, mounted his sturdy charger, and started from Jaunpur with royal pomp,

Verses.—

It (the royal steed) is so light-footed that it does not
awaken the sleepers when it scampers over their eyes.
The face of the sky has turned blue from its hoof beats,
The sparks from its shoes have scorched the back of the fish.
By a trick it makes itself hidden under the shadow of the
mosquito-wing.
By its skill it runs into the corner of the eye of a flea.
It is so fleet that the earth rocks constantly like drops of
quicksilver under its pounding hoofs.
The wind flashes with sparks of fire at the violence of its
hoof-beats
The earth becomes crescent-shaped by the marks of its shoe.
At the time of charge it rushes like a shark in the ocean
During attack, it springs like a leopard upon a mountain.
By the stamp of its shoes, it perforates the horn of the cow
like the hive of the wasp in the subterranean region.

and set out for Jajnagar. The auspicious standards reached the town of Bihar in the spring, and from this place he gave orders for the successive marches of the royal armies. When he reached the frontiers of the Sikhar [1] country, he enquired about the game animals peculiar to that region. It was reported that a kind of animal found in the valley of this hill is called Gōrkhar, but it can only be captured with great trouble and skill. This animal resembles buffaloes in appearance, has moon-shaped marks on its forehead, is four-footed and has a white tail. From this place he turned back a few miles and hunted a large number of wild deer. On the return journey to Sikhar from this place strange and peculiar animals were bagged on the way. After the armies crossed the hills, they saw a deer [2]. This was an animal, whose flesh in flavour and taste is superior to the meat of every other type of game. Its hide possesses a peculiar virtue, a piece of it worn by any person, whether man or infant, acts as a charm against epileptic fits and possession by genii and ghosts. It is red in colour, resembling the swallow; countless numbers of this species were bagged, and an order was issued to flay them and to preserve their skins, so that the people might be able to use them for their beneficial qualities, and also have a chance of seeing them, because in all our wanderings in search of game such strange animals had never been seen.

Thereafter, attention was directed to the extirpation of the Rai of Sikhar whom thirty-six kings paid homage. Sikhar is a hill whose crest vies with the Pleiades. The mighty armies besieged this hill, and stormed it in a day. Countless unbelievers formed food for the sword, and seventy thousand people with their children were taken captive. The Rai of Sikhar, when he saw the troops closing in upon the hill, fled from the fortress even before the siege had commenced.

Victorious, light of the eye of the kingdom, bud of the garden of sultanate, fruit of the mind of sovereignty, core of the heart of royalty, flower of the garden of Fortune, wholesome water of the fountain of joy, favourite of the king of the world, Shukr Khan [3] was (living) here at this time. Three months and ten days only had elapsed since the birth of this fortunate prince, when this pearl of the crown of sovereignty, this new moon of the sky of joy was admitted into the light of the cradle of His Majesty's fostering care out of the dark shell of the infidel country. When the mischief-mongering Rai took recourse to flight, this amulet of safety slipped off from his hand. Prosperity and safety, order and security, vanished from the Rai and his country, as a result of this loss and separation (from Shukr Khan).

---

[1] Sikhar was the surname of a ruler of Tailakumpa identified with Telkupi in the Manbhum district. In Ramacharita of Sandhyakar Nandi (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. III, No. 1, p. 36, occurs a verse–Vandya-gune-Simha-Vikrama-Sura-Sikhara-Bhaskara-pratapaistai). And in the annotation it is written that 'Sikharaiti Samaraparisara-Visaradarirajaraji-ganda-garva-gahana-dahana-davanalah Tailkumpi ya Kalpataru Rudrasikhara'. In the introduction to the text of Ramacharita, published by the Varendra Research Society, it is stated, p. xxvii, that Rudra Sikhara was the ruler of Tailakumpa, and the region over which he held sway is still known as the Sikharbhum, evidently after the surname Sikhara of the royal family.

[2] The author puzzles the reader by writing مرگی which in Persian means death but in Hindustani, a deer.

[3] Sukr Khan has been held by Raverty and others to be Shukr Khātun, but the present account supplemented by that of 'Afīf (B. I. Series, p. 330)

Verses.—

The mind was full of happiness and free from anxiety
All that belonged to the Rai, passed away from him;
You had been the solace of my mind and the peace of my
soul
You went away and all that attended on you also departed.

By God's grace, affection for this fortunate prince obtained so firm a hold in the mind of the Muslim king that he was granted a higher status than most descendants of the Sulṭān. He grew up daily under the fostering care of His Majesty. Fortune and prosperity are always the handmaidens of good name, learning and intellect are the attendants of good fortune. When he was only seven years old he brought down easily, with his immature hand, deer, long and short-footed (deers), chital (guzan), nilgau (blue cow) and gorkhar (wild asses). He felled ferocious tigers on the spot by a single shot. Excellent qualities and laudable traits which Almighty God had bestowed from the treasury of His kindness on this prince were beyond enumeration. After the conquest of the country of Sikhar he set off for Jajnagar along the various stages through a dark waste and desolate region (by a route) which was darker than the moonless night and narrower than the hair of the head; in penetrating through it even ants had to be crowded and snakes were jostled together.

Verses.—

Even keen-witted persons are baffled in attempting to
describe it;
By its colour the accursed Devil goes astray;
The air of this deadly region is like the hot *simum.*
Its winds are exterminating like the Simum.
Its pathways are as narrow as the bridge of Maḥshar (the
bridge leading to paradise after the Resurrection).
Its defiles are as gloomy as the heart of the Antichrist
The nights in this region are darker than the core of a stone
The gorges (here) are more precipitous than the tip of the
(erect) hair.

---

leaves no doubt that Shukr Khan was the son of the Rai of Sikhar who fell into the hands of Sulṭān Fīrūz in course of this expedition.

Each stage constituted a day's march of twenty miles; it could only be covered by soldiers marching rapidly day and night. It was a bitter winter. In course of march through these defiles a strange phenomenon was witnessed. In an area, six farsangs long and one mile broad, tall trees were seen strangely overturned, with their trunks uprooted and the tops broken off; some that escaped this fate, kept trees of equal height suspended by their branches entangled with one another. When this devastating landscape which stood out in striking contrast to the neighbourhood presented itself, the soldiers, irrespective of their ranks, gaped with wonder as to how the destruction of so many trees could have taken place in this way. The Brahmins of this country related that two months before the arrival of the Muslim army, the demon of the wind had blown across this tract and tearing up these trees from their roots, had lain them prostrate on the ground. Some trees, however, escaped through resting on others, their dangling branches getting intertwined with one another.

The Brahmins, the sooth-sayers and astrologers had predicted that on the approach of the powerful Muslim army in the vicinity of this kingdom, a terrible calamity would befall the kingdom and that the people would be engulfed in misfortune at the hands of the attacking army. This state of thing came to pass in accordance with the prophecies which were made by them.

From this place, under the sacred divine protection, the auspicious cavalcade with royal pomp reached Tinnanagar. It was one of the virgin towns of Jajnagar, which had hitherto been immune from the assaults of warriors but was now ravished by the invasion of stalwart fighters. The brain of the garrison, which was deranged by the cottonwool of vanity, on the flourish of the sword cast off the cottonwool of pride from the surface of the sore, and their skulls filled with the marrow of vanity were broken to bits.

The army of Islam set out from this place with a rich booty, and passing through the fixed stages emerged on Kinanagar [1]. This is a town which with the cultivated area extended over six farsangs. All its inhabitants were Brahmins, living in ease and plenty and free from fear of attack. Their houses and villas were in the midst of orchards and gardens, fruits and flowers. When the victorious armies (May God help them!) penetrated this region, they importuned the Sulṭān with the request 'we have captured agreeably to our expectation, a town so large, a place so flourishing, with people so amiable and possessed of such pleasing manners. All of them are endowed with such comeliness that our people are enamoured of them. Their gait and movements have captivated our hearts. For fear of the royal stewards and sentinels we cannot extend our hands against them. If the royal command for plunder is issued, a large booty would fall into the hands of the forces of Islam. The town is flourishing and the honey is without the bees'.

---

[1] Kinanagar appears to be Kichhinganagar, the ancient capital of Mayurbhanj State. If Satrubhanja ruled about 1325 A.D. (the Kumurkhela inscription, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. II, pp. 429–35), his successor Ranabhanja was probably the ruler of Khiching at the time of Sulṭān Fīrūz's invasion.

The order was issued 'Our object is the chase of elephants, the demolition of idols and the extirpation of the Rai. These places are only the outposts and dependencies of Jajnagar; the soldiers have marched so far separated from their families, covering so much distance and bearing such hardship; that is our fixed destination. If before the attainment of the principal object we agree to your prayer, and your hands are set to plunder, the (looted) baggage and goods will become an encumbrance for you, and if you are so engaged, our plans for the more important objective are not likely to succeed.

Verses.—

Do not be engaged in a headlong pursuit of the fugitive,
Lest you be separated from your friends.
Do not push forward the troops in pursuit of plunder,
Lest no army be left in the rear of the king.
Better it is for the soldiers to guard the king,
Than to be in the thick of a fight.

Give precedence to that work over this (plunder of Kinanagar), and relinquish this work (of plunder) in preference to that (subjugation of the Rai of Jajnagar). This town lies along the route of the army. When the chief place is taken, the subsidiary areas will automatically follow suit! If God is willing! When, safely and laden with booty, we are on our return journey having gained the longed-for victory and the desired success, all of you along with your camp-followers will be able to capture a great booty and stuff. Due to this admonition against pillage, they deemed it their imperative duty to obey the behests of the Sulṭān, and leaving them to their fate started to march forward from this place. A battalion of the troops belonging to the Rai (of Jajnagar) had advanced to obtain news of the approach of the Muslim army, and was lying in wait on the highway disguised as spies. Believing that they would not come, they had encamped to enquire about their whereabouts from the passers-by and send the news to the Rai. The imperial army took them by surprise; they spied the victorious standards and the birds of life flying out of the cages of their bodies, they were taken prisoners. The Rai trusting to their news had remained in the place, expecting that they would apprise him of the approach of Muslim army. (But) as none of them escaped from the jaws of death, and those who were guarding the highways were taken prisoners and massacred, the news did not reach the Rai till the dust raised by the (advancing) army and the calamity of the victorious troops reached Kulkulghat which was another name for Kalkal [1] and some thousand farsangs distant from Bastak. The dust raised by the cavalry enveloped the fortress of Saranghara [2], and dust covered the head of the undiscerning Rai.

Verse.—

By the hoofs of the quadrupeds in that spacious plain
The (seven-layered) earth was reduced to six, and the
(seven-storied) heaven increased to eight.

Finding no other alternative except flight and no other course to adopt except retreat, he committed the city into the hands of the headman, and slipped alone. When Rai Pirbhandeo [3] beheld the umbrella of His Majesty, who was the shadow of God, he fled towards Chattargarh [4], leaving his troops engaged in the capture of elephants. He sought refuge in the forest in the midst of the elephants so that he might rescue himself by this device from the talons of the royal infantry. When the armies of the Alexander-like monarch having achieved tranquillity

Verse.—

When he strings his bow, yells break forth from the sky.
When he falls upon an ambush, sparks shoot up to the sun.

safely crossed this desolate region, he sent detachments of troops in pursuit of the Rai, and pushed forward his victorious troops in all directions to smite like thunder-clap and lightning, the infidels on the eastern sea-coast and make the polytheists the food for the Islamic sword, take their children into captivity and carry away their goods as spoils. He despatched the warriors in different directions to search out the hunting ground of elephants, and also sent scouts into the forests. They brought the news that they had seen a herd of elephants in a particular spot in a certain forest, (but) that their capture would not be possible without the imperial elephants. Guided by them the body of warriors attending the auspicious stirrups set out in that direction. It was confirmed by the reports of the captives, who were taken on the way, that undoubtedly a large herd of elephants roamed in that area. He ordered a kheda to be erected over an area of six farsangs; accordingly they erected a stockade and built a rampart with logs of hewn trees for the capture of the wild elephants[1]. All round it was so closely beset by the soldiers that it was impossible even for ants to slip out from the inside or for serpents to creep in from the outside. Arrangements were completed within a week. A tumult arose among the people (of Bhanudeva) who were besieged within this enclosure, pangs of thirst and hunger began to tell on their constitution. Swarms of people irrespective of their rank, worried by the situation, with bowls of despair in their hands and ropes of privation and the halters of agony and captivity round their necks, simultaneously raised a chorus of lamentation, saying 'we are dissolving in the crucible of despondency. Our only hope of life lies in the fact, that we be put in chains by the exalted soldiers'.

---

[1] Kalkala is 15 miles north of Cuttack, lying on the direct road from lower Keonjhur to Cuttack. (*Cuttack Dist. Gazetteer.*)

[2] Saranghar.—After passing through Kalkal, the imperial army marched to Saranghar which was evidently situated near Cuttack. Saranghar was one of the five Kataks (fortress) of Orissa situated 5 miles south-west of modern Cuttack. *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* says that Aḥmad Khān let loose his elephants in the jungles of Saranghar before he repaired to the presence to Sulṭān Fīrūz (op. cit., Raghubir Sinh's MS., p. 92). Raverty's identification of Saranghar with a place of the same name in C.P. is, therefore, untenable.

[3] Pirbhandeo is Bhanudeva III, who ruled in Orissa from 1353–70 A.D.

[4] According to 'Afīf, op. cit., *Tārikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, Bhanudeva sailed away by sea to a place of safety. According to *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, B. I. Series, p. 128, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, B. I. Series, p. 232, Bhanudeva fled towards Telingana. But here Bhanudeva is said to have fled to Chattargarh which may be either Chatterpur in Ganjam district, or Chatter luar, a narrow pass at a distance of 24 miles from Rajamahendri.

Verse.—

Every slave, who is set free, achieves happiness
Our happiness, however, consists in becoming your slave.

'Our captivity at the hands of the victorious army would result in our continued existence. It would be kindness towards us if you would enchain us in the train of your prisoners.'

Verses.—

'Wherever there is a prisoner in a cage, he trembles inside the iron bars.
I shall not escape from your cage, so long as I live.
I am obedient to your orders even if you would burn my heart,
I am loyal to your behests even if you ignore me.'

Orders were issued to the effect 'we shall set you at liberty provided you show us elephants inside the kheda'. They agreed, and on this condition were released. They brought intelligence that there were elephants in a certain direction within the enclosure which had not tasted water and forage since the beginning of the siege. They occasionally roamed about this place. They were now reduced to such extremities that if even a sheaf of grass is held out to them with the hand, they would meekly follow. Being escorted by this body of men, he (Sulṭān) rode out for the elephant hunt. A beat was ordered inside the enclosure, and mountain-like elephants were captured by such dexterous tricks and artifices as could not be conceived by fancy or imagination. In course of this hunt, news was brought that the Rai had sent a present of elephants and a petition praying 'Resourceless, I have fallen into this strait. I am a humble servant and the son of a servant of the (imperial) court; for generations I have been a faithful servant and a staunch partisan of your cause. My duty is unremitting devotion and fidelity; it is the glory and fortune of this country that your standard is shining over the heads of these slaves'.

---

[1] 'Afīf, op. cit., *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, pp. 164-5, describes this elephant hunt. According to him, the kheda was ten yards broad and seven yards high.

Verses.—

'That morning is happy on which you glide away before him
That day is auspicious on which you gaze at him.
That slave is free who attends on thy stirrups
That country is prosperous across which you travel.'

Further it was set forth: 'The victorious troops are laying waste the country and towns; in fear of life I have retreated to this wilderness; all that I possess, I shall lay before you as an offering'.

Verse.—

If you are pleased to order, I shall along with the arrow make an offering of my heart which has been lacerated by your arrow.

'It is patent that from fear of the army I had left elephants in the jungle to capture wild elephants and bring them to my stable. The wild elephants, which I brought with me, have been forwarded to the imperial court along with presents, with only a single exception. If the (gracious) court takes compassion towards this humble slave and spares (my) life, I shall keep this solitary elephant so that by the graciousness of your Majesty, the name of Gajpat handed down to me by my forefathers is not obliterated. And as long as I shall live, I shall send every year lusty elephants to the imperial court'. Before the arrival of the presents from the king (of Jajnagar), one of his ministers named Baki presented himself before His Majesty and petitioned 'For countless years from the time of my ancestors, we have devoted ourselves to the service of the Rai, but he is now oppressing me. When life was endangered and the dagger pierced the bones, I deserted him, panic-stricken and frightened as how long shall I be oppressed by the Rai; to whom shall I represent my situation and complain against the injustice of the Rai. It was my good fortune that the imperial standards were unfurled at this opportune moment. I have appeared before the court so that I may be spared through the kindness of your sublime court'.

Verses.—

Thy appearance in the kingdom effects a conjunction of
the two stars (Jupiter and Venus).
Thy justice prevails in the world of equity.
The arms of thy justice, if they so desire, know how to
protect the nest of the turtle-dove from the talons of the
falcon and the bills of the eagle.

'At such a moment, your auspicious standards have cast their shadows on this territory.'

Verses.—

Fortune has consigned the reins of the kingdom into your
hands
Fortune has mounted the Burāq [1] of your desires
Your scimitar for whose sake the garden of the kingdom
was laid out
Has converted the face of the earth into a tulip-garden by
the blood of the enemy.
The strength of your arms has proved to the hilt the asser-
tion
Of that person, who extolled Rustam and Isfandiyar, to be
a lie.
Your might smote down many lusty elephants
Your majesty hunted down many ferocious tigers.

'If your Majesty be not pleased to order my liberation, the hope of my earthly existence will be extinguished. If I am not favoured even at this time, what hour shall I look forward to. When the Rai of Jajnagar and the Zamindars of this country come to know of my favourable reception at the hands of your Majesty, denunciations against me would be of no avail.'

Verses.—

When they regard me as your slave, they will enthrone me
in their eye-ball
Thy kindness which is open to all, has been lavished on me
Otherwise who am I that people should take cognisance of
me.

---

[1] Burāq was a celebrated animal smaller than a mule and bigger than an ass on which Muhammad is said to have ridden from Jerusalem to heaven, *Persian-English Dictionary* by Steingass, p. 168. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. I, p. 793, says that it was the name applied to the fabulous animal riding on which the Prophet Muhammad performed the journey to the heaven on the night of Ascension.

(The Sulṭān) distinguished him with royal favours and bounty, clothed him with robe of honour and made him the gift of a drum and a standard. While this elephant hunt was in progress, Khan-i-'Azam, Khaqan-i-Mu'azzam Āḥmad Khān [1]—who had been expelled from Bengal by Sulṭān Shamsuddīn and had allied with the Rai of Jajnagar—Alas! what amount of atrocities must have been committed by him that these drove the believers (Muslim) to fly from him and seek refuge with the infidels,—

Verse.—

During his reign oppression was so violent,
That death came for succour and began annihilation.

(this oppressed person) left the infidels on the approach of the auspicious standards of the Muslim army and joined the world-protecting court with his troops and followers. His Majesty's kindness is the sustenance of the journey. He obtained according to his expectations many distinctions of rank, horses beyond count and goods beyond enumeration, and enlisted himself in the service of the auspicious stirrups. Thereupon the gracious mind (of the Sulṭān), May his happiness be everlasting! decided on leaving the stores and the army at the village of Gartas [2] in charge of Ibrahīm Ākhūh, who was the Malik, Malik-us-Sharf-ul-Hijab, commander of the age, a strong-bodied warrior (Rustam) of the age, Ulugh-i-'Aẓam, Naib-i-Bārbak, and Bashīr-i-Sulṭānī, who was the Malik, Malik-us-Sharq, commander of the age, brazen-bodied warrior (Rustam) of the age, chief of the army, chief of the department of 'Ariḍ-i-Mumālīk.

The victorious standards now set out for the destruction of the temple of Jagannath. This was the shrine of the polytheists of this land and the sanctuary of worship of the unbelievers of the Far East (China and Mahāchin). It was the most famous of their temples. Its buildings were gorgeous; bright images, and shining figures were carved on their walls. The appearance, dress and visage of the dwellers of this place were different; darkness was stamped on their faces, and thin bodies and eyes were devoid of all lustre. Their bodies were haggard and emaciated; life and spirits were so languid that they were gasping, as it were, even for their last breaths. Thirty thousand silver dinars are spent on the kitchen (of the temple). Bevies of the daughters of the Rais and Brahmins, misguided and seduced, throng here from distant parts and places; troops of the followers of the female devil sannyasis who are called Devadasis[1], and garrulous persons who are called Bhurja squat on the ground and lead the people astray. Some shed their own blood, like animals intended for sacrifice, in front of the deity, some attire the limbs of their body with the robe of amputations (slice them off), some fling themselves from the top of an eminence into a remote distance, some drown themselves into the deep sea by a leap from a lofty height, some again setting straw, hay, ricks of faggots ablaze consume themselves in the tongues[2] of the flaming fire. All the unbelievers who live in the country worship this deity. Allah who is the only true God and has no other emanation, endowed the king of Islam with the strength to destroy this ancient shrine on the eastern sea-coast and to plunge it into the sea, and after its destruction, he ordered the nose of the image of Jagannath[3] to be perforated and disgraced it by casting it down on the ground. They dug out other idols which were worshipped by the polytheists in the kingdom of Jajnagar, and overthrew them as they did the image of Jagannath, for being laid in front of the mosques along the path of the Sunnis and way of the musallis (the multitude who offer their prayers), and stretched them in front of the portals of every mosque, so that the body and sides of the images might be trampled at the time of ascent and descent, entrance and exit by the shoes on the feet of the Muslims. By the grace of Almighty God, after the attainment of the object, the return journey was safely concluded from the eastern sea-coast. Some of the commanders of the army, who had been deputed for pillage and plunder, sent news that there was an island near the sea-coast, having a broad and long pool of water[4] in which nearly one hundred thousand men of Jajnagar had taken refuge with their women, children, kinsmen and relations. Each figure was (radiant) like the moon and the sun, but notwithstanding this appearance, they were crouching in water like the fish. It was stated that Shamsuddīn, the ruler of Lakhnauti had besieged them on this sea-coast, but with all his forces, he could not gain the upper hand over them and had returned empty-handed. On receipt of this news the auspicious stirrups were turned in that direction, and troops were so distributed on all sides that they might converge at a point and convert the island into a basin of blood by the massacre of the unbelievers with the sharp sword. When the auspicious, victory-proclaiming standards, which were the fountain-head of auspicious stars, appeared on the shores of this lake, with a mighty army,

---

[1] Aḥmad Khān.—According to the *Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, Ahmad Khān had taken refuge in the hills of Rantambor. Rantambor has been identified with Ratanpur in the Central Provinces, 244 miles south of Allahabad, but the description of the Sulṭān's march contained in *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* supplemented by that of the present MS. establish beyond doubt that this Ratanpur was in Orissa. In *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* it is stated that Aḥmad Khan and Baki Pata were entrusted with the command of the army of Jajnagar but they quailed before the onward march of the imperial army (op. cit., Raghubir Sinh's MS., p. 92).

[2] Gartas.—This word may be Karnas or Garnas.

---

[1] Devadasi.—The word in the text is *masawasi.*

[2] The word in the text is ظلمت but لطات gives it a better meaning.

[3] Jagannath.—Muslim iconoclastic fury was particularly directed against this temple of Jagannath. According to *Makhzan-i-Afghanāh* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's MS., p. 121) Sulaimān Karārānī destroyed the temple, and reduced the statute of Krishna which was studded with jewels and diamonds to fragments. According to *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn* (B. I. Series, Persian text, p. 302) the Raja of Puri removed the image of Jagannath to the top of a hill on the other side of Lake Chilka during the commotion in Muḥammad Taqī Khān's time (1733-1734 A.D.).

[4] Pool of water.—This is undoubtedly the Chilka Lake where the aristrocracy of Orissa is said to have often sought refuge during the time of Muslim invasions.

Verses.—

The earth through the weapons became (bespangled) like the face of the sky,
The face of the heavens was overspread by dust like the surface of the earth
The mountain was converted into a cavern by the hoofs of the cavalry
The cavern was converted into a mountain by the heaps of the slain.

Eternal Almighty God struck terror into the hearts of these vanquished people. When at daybreak their gaze fell on the shining points of the victorious spears and the drawn scimitars of the vanguard and the wings, they rent the air with a loud outcry, and exhibited their helplessness by casting their swords, shields, arrows, bows, and suits of armour into the water,

Hemistich.—

You are to strike with the sword, and we to wield the shield.

and bent their refractory heads on the ground. Ere long the soldiers surged round from all sides and by strokes of swords flashing like lightning on the heads of the fugitives and the infidels on the eastern sea-coast, they plunged them in the ocean of their own blood; and their persons, which had defied the command of the Sulṭān, were turned into food for the fish and the crocodiles.

Verse.—

The seven oceans were connected together by the effusion of blood
And the earth projected out of them from another angle.

Captive women of all descriptions, young, middle-aged, and old, maidens and married, women bearing only male children, those bearing only female ones, women with a few and many children, widows, bashful women, chaste ladies, women endowed with natural beauty were pressed, as slaves, slave maidens, maid servants, female singers, nurses and midwives, into service in the house of every soldier. The rest of their women were taken captive along with the elephants; women with babies and pregnant ladies were haltered, manacled, fettered and enchained and no vestige of the infidels was left except their blood.

Verse.—

Whoever saw asked: What is it blood or water?
The reply was: It is an island reeking with human blood.

From this place, triumphant and victorious, elated and jubilant, (His Majesty) returned to the place where the heavy baggage had been left, and all the armies from various sides joined His Majesty, laden with rich spoils. From this place they set out for Padamtala [1], which was the haunt of wild elephants, and skirting along the bank of the Mahanadi where elephants countless like stars prowled about, (they) came across elephants beyond enumeration and bagged a large number of them in the valley of a hill. Elephants as ponderous as hills were felled by the shots of arrows, and by God's grace all yearnings for the realization of which His Majesty's stirrups had turned in that direction were fulfilled according to his expectations.

Verses.—

Your achievements have become known all over the world!
The heavens are laid low as a result of your expeditions!
The world is singing praises for you;
The heavens have girded up their loins to serve you.
Glory is the associate of your illustrious armies,
Victory accompanies your fortunate troops.

---

[1] *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (B. I. Series, p. 129) also says that the Sulṭān hunted in Badmavati and Baramtalaoli which by a slight variation of diacritical marks would become Padmavati and Padamtala of our MS. Padmavati is situated within the Khandpara State, about 50 miles west of Cuttack and was an important centre for trade in that part of Orissa. The opposite bank of the river Mahanadi which lies within the jurisdiction of Baramba State, has been used for elephant kheda for ages (*Orissa Feudatory States Gaz.*, p. 345).

در شهور سنهٔ اثنی و ستّین و سبعمائه جهان گشتگان نشان دادند که در آقصیٔ هند بساحل دریایٔ شرقی در ملکِ جاجنگر افیالِ وحش که مثالِ آن تمثال در نقشِ خیال صورت نه بندد. هزاران هزار از هشیار و مست هست، و در آن بیابان آدمیان اند وحشی که هرگز مردم مدنی را بچشم ندیده‌اند، ایشانرا زبانِ مردم معلوم نه، و زبانِ ایشان مردم را مفهوم نه، لباسِ ایشان ازریشِ طواویس و طعامِ شان لحومِ جوامیس، کاخِ ایشان اشجار، مفرشِ شان اوراق و ازهار، مشربهٔ شان کف دست که بدان در لیل و نهار آبِ انهار اغتراف کنند، حفاتِ عراتِ بشر و لیکن از بشریّت عاری، مدام ایشانرا از عمرانات بیزاری، علامتِ استنصار ایشان از قبائلِ خویش هنگامِ ازدحامِ لشکرها آنست که (چون) لشکری و جماعتی بمحاربهٔ ایشان درآید شخصی از احادِ ایشان نرمهٔ گوشِ خود را بآلت جارحهٔ قطع کنند تا آن گروه درو دمِ او معاینه کنند در یکدم صد هزار مردم بتناصر و تعاضدِ ایشان فراهم آیند، چون پیلانِ وحش ایشان بنعره و فریاد و صیاح در مسا و صباح مکابره کنند، و بدان عربده صولتِ پیلانِ با مهابت را دفع گردانند، لیکن چون گردِ نعالِ مراکبِ لشکر بینند گردِ آن نتوانند گشت و از جماعت فرد فرد شوند، چون قرد بر درختان بر روند ٭

اگر از قطعِ متجاوراتِ اراضئ آن یک قطعهٔ سون زار را بهزار زبان صفت کنند یکی از هزار و اندکی از بسیار بیان نکرده باشند، جملهٔ مردمِ آن زمین سیاه چون زاغ و اوطانِ شان همه در باغ:

☆ مصرع ☆

همیشه باشد، آنجا زاغ در باغ

همه خلقِ آن دیار حربی و باغی امّا لطیف طبع و لاغی، سورِ بستاتینِ ایشان از گلِ هندئ اسود، و بیاض النّاسِ شان از سوادِ سودان آن سواد (sic) و سوادِ آن قوم از سوادِ سودان بلاد، ولی چه سود که حبّة السواد قلوب اهل دارد و حُبِّ ایشان چنان غلیلست که بملازمتِ مسیح مریمی[1] انفکاک نه پذیرد، بر هر چیز که نام سودا اطلاق کنند محبوب گیرد، کف را از حنا خضاب داده چنانستی که از خونِ عشّاق و دل مشتاق رنگ داده‌اند: ☆ بیت ☆ ۱

بخونِ عزیزان فرو برده چنگ
سر انگشت‌ها کرده عنّاب رنگ

در روی شان شادی، در لب نشاط و خنده
در دل هوای عشرت در سرمئ شبانه
روی چگونه روی، زلفی چگونه زلفی
این عمر را بشارت وان عیش را بهانه

و در هر چمنی انواعِ اشجار و الوان اثمار اند، و انارِ پخته[2] که قوّتِ باصره از احاطتِ آن قاصر گردد، نارنج که از تاریخِ بنای جهان نارنجِ سفر دیده با رنگ بچنان رنگ کسی ندیده باشد،

---

[1] Text: لا ئمی.

[2] Text: انار بخته.

و یانع بخشیده، و نخلِ جوز هر یکی در صعود با خور تقابل نموده که بثمارِ آن منجلِ ماه نرسد و از جورِ قطّاع ایمن، نبات با لبینت منصوب، فرع چنان مرفوع که چون ماه و خور مجرور نگردد و صرف نپذیرد. اگرچه فاکهٔ دیگر را در هند صرف است امّا جوز هم برآن حرفست و در نثارِ اثمار بخل ندارد، ثمرهٔ آن زیرِ مظلّ مفقاعیست که بی واسطهٔ اسبابِ قفاعی و بی ازدحامِ انقابِ کلال، مملوست بشرابِ نبات و پستانِ مرضعهٔ بستانست که بی غفلت و نسیان آدمی‌زاد را چون ظیر مشفقه مثل دهد، نعم از پستانِ انسانی بعد حولین و نصف که آوانِ فطامست رضاع لایجوز و حرام امّا از پستانِ بستانی رضاع حلال و یجوز مدام، و از ثدئ آدمی ولدِ آدم بی بکا شیر نیاید لیکن آن پستان ناخواسته با رضاع شتابد، و دایهٔ بشر در ادرارِ لبن بخل ورزد لیکن دایهٔ نخل با شیر پستان بخشد، در آن شیر همه از وحنت و غلظت درین شیر همه صفوة و رقّت، مشرب آن همه وظیفهٔ اطفال و مسِ این مباح بر نسوان و رجال، و غیرِ این اشجارِ دیگر که مخصوص و منصوب اند در بلادِ هند چنانکه سُپاری که جهانیان در طلبِ آن جان سپاری میکنند، هر دانه دُریست در گوشِ سرو قدی آویخته یا مهرهٔ جانست در غلافِ دل پیچیده، عفص مزاجی که برای تفریحِ قلوبِ عزیزان تنِ خود را بانکسار دهد و برخی اسنان چون اُشنان طحن پذیرد و تا اجزای او در اوراقِ خضر مخمر نشود لبِ ماه رویان محمر نگردد و دندانِ نازنینان رنگ نگیرد، و درختِ تار که پنجه بر ارخای سما زده است در شبِ تار

ستاره می‌نماید، اصول او چون اساطینِ بارگاهِ سلاطین در چمن بساتین منصوب، و فروعِ او بی قطنِ محلوج بتارپود، دیباجِ اخضر منسوج و منسوب، آبهای روان راحتِ جان و روان، و شهرهای پرنعمت و قصرهای با رفعت و اموالِ فراوان و اسبابِ بی پایان، دار حربیست بالاتّفاق جایز الاسر و القَتل علی الاطلاق، اهلِ آن بلاد همه مشرک که مدام بمدام مست، خمر خوارِ (و) بت پرست، قومی اند علاحده اباحتی و ملاحده، اصنام را اله خود ساخته، در هر شهری معبدی پرداخته، مشهورترین شان جگنات چنانکه[1] در ساحلِ دریای غربی سومنات و در زمینِ عرب لات و عزّی و منات، هر بتخانه را خزانهٔ خاص و هر متاعی را درو کارخانهٔ بالاختصاص ۞

چون خبرِ لطافتِ آن ارض بموقفِ عرض رسانیدند و بشرفِ استماع مقرون شد، هوای طوفِ آن طرف بر رای همایون برای قلعِ رای گجپت[2] و قتالِ اهل شرک و تخریبِ معابدِ ایشان و صیدِ پیلان و نظّارهٔ آن مقامِ بانضارت ازدیاد پذیرفت:

بدین صفت که شنیدم دیارِ جاجنگر
کشید دل بهوای شکارِ جاجنگر

بر رای جهان آرای ظلّ الله ابد الله ظلالَ جلاله، عزمِ کارِ آن طرف مصمّم شد، فرمود تا از عساکرِ قاهره و افواجِ جرّاره مردان جنگی غزا دیده و مشّاقِ سفر کشیده و جرات ورزیدهٔ جهان گردیده که:

---

[1] Text: جنکنان چنانکی.

[2] Text: کجهت.

٭ بیت ٭

سخت دانند حرب را تدبیر   نیک دانند جنگ را هنجار

بگزینند، و بر ایشان فرمان رسانید تا مرتّب و مستعد جریده بمتابعتِ رکاب همایون باشند و از احمال و اثقال در خورِ مسارعت و قدرِ مسافرت سبک‌بار باشند و از نسوان و اطفال و حرایر و جواری که مصاحبتِ ایشان درین مهاجرت مادّهٔ خواریست با خود نیارند و در ازدیاد زاد نکوشند، برین ترتیب در کنفِ عصمتِ الٰهی با کوکبهٔ پادشاهی از جونپور خُنگِ جهان نورد را زیر رکاب آورده: ٭ بیت ٭

سبک‌تگی که نگردد ز سمِّ او بیدار
گرش بباشد[1] در چشمهای خفته گذار
که کرد[2] روی فلک را ضربتِ گامش کبود
که کرد[3] پشت سمک را آتشِ نعلش کباب
از حیل پنهان شود در سایهٔ پر پشّه
وز هنر جولان کند در گوشهٔ چشم ذباب
تگاوری که زمین از تحرّکِ سم او
بود چو نقطهٔ سیماب دایما زلزال
مقطّر از اثرِ گامِ او هوا بشهاب
منقّش از اثر نعلِ او زمین بهلال
نهنگ‌وار گه پویه در رود به بحار
پلنگ‌وار گه حمله بر رود بجبال

---

[1] Text: نباشد.

[2] Text: کند.

[3] Text: کند.

سرونِ گاوِ ثری همچو خانهٔ زنبور
گه درنگ مشبّک کند بمیخِ نعال

بر صوبِ جاجنگر نهضت فرمود، در ایّامِ بهار رایاتِ همایون[1] در شهرِ بهار وصول شد از آنجا بکوچِ متواتر موکبِ همایون را رکضت فرمود، چون بر سرحدِّ ولایتِ سیکهر رسید جانورانِ شکاری که مخصوص بدان ولایت اند استکشاف فرمود، گفتند که در سهل[2] این جبال جانورانند که آنرا گورخوانند امّا بصعوبت و حیل دست آیند، صورتِ آن جانوران بجاموس مانند، ماه پیشانی باشند و قوایم اربعه و دُم سپید دارند، از آنجا عنانِ مرکب را چند میل میل فرموده و بسیار گور درکار روزی شد، چون از آنجا بجانبِ سیکهر عزیمت شد در اثنای راه جانورانِ عجیب و غریب در صید آمدند، چون موکب از کوه بدرآمد[3] لشکر ایشانرا مرگی[4] پدید آمد و آن حیوانیست بقیاسِ حلوانی و لذّتِ طعمِ او چنانکه هیچ گوشتی از لحومِ صید بدان نرسد، و از خواصِ پوستِ او آنست که بر هر کسی و هر طفلی که پارهٔ از آن بندند او را بار صرع نیاید و از حرکاتِ جنّ و شیاطین ایمن گردد، رنگ او سرخ، و همچنین درّاجانِ لعل که رنگ آن برنگِ طیراً ابابیل ماند، ازین جنس درکار بسیار و بی‌شمار روزی شده، فرمان شد تا آنرا سلخ کنند پوستهای آنرا نگاه دارند، تا مردم از آن انتفاع گیرند

---

[1] Text: رایات همایون را.

[2] Text: سهد.

[3] Text: مرکی که بدرآمد.

[4] Text: مرگی.

و بینند، زیراکه تا در طلب کار می‌کردیم اینچنین جانور نادر دیده نشده است ٭

از آنجا باستیصالِ رای سیکهر که سی و شش رای او را خدمت میکردند اشتغال اتّفاق افتاد، سیکهر کوهیست که شاهقِ آن با ثریّا همسری دارد، عساکرِ قاهره آن کوه را گرد گرفت، در روز فتح شد، کفّار بیشمار علفِ تیغ شدند و هفتاد هزار مردم و ذراریٔ ایشان اسیر شد، رای سیکهر چون احاطتِ افواج را معائنه کرد پیش از احصار از آن حصار راهِ فرار گرفت، مظفرِ (با) سعادت، نورِ حدقهٔ مملکت، و نورِ حدیقهٔ سلطنت ثمرهٔ باغِ جهانداری، ثمرهٔ فوادِ شهریاری، گلِ بستانِ دولت و ز لالِ چشمهٔ عشرت، برگزیدهٔ شاهِ جهان، شکر خان در آن ایّام و در آن مقام بود، از ولادتِ آن صاحب سعادت سه ماه و ده روز برآمد که آن درّهٔ تاجِ جهانبانی و غرّهٔ سپهر شادمانی از صدفِ ظلماتِ کفرستان بنورِ حجر تربیّتِ همایون مقاربت یافت، چون رای بد رای راهِ گریز گزید آن عوذهٔ امان از دستِ او افتاد، هرآئینه دولت و امن و انتظام[1] و التیام از رای و بلادِ رای بفقدان و افتراقِ او اعراض نمود:

بود در دل خوشی نبود غمی
رفت از رای هرچه بود نبود

---

[1] Text: انتظار.

آرام دل و راحت جانم تو بدی
رفتی تو و با تو هرچه بود هست برفت

بعنائتِ سبحانی مهربانی بدلِ پادشاهِ اسلام در حقِّ آن صاحبِ دولت بمثابهٔ تمکّن یافت که از اکثرِ اولاد عظمتِ او ازدیاد پذیرفت، و هر روز که بتربیّتِ حضرت نشو و نما می‌یافت[1] بخت و دولت معاً معاً بنیک نامی ناشی و نامی شد[2] و علم و هنر با بخت قرین، در هفت سالگی آهو و گز پا و کوتاه پای و گوزن و نیلگاؤ و گورخر بتیسر نیم شکاری در شکار انداخت و شیرِ شرزه بنیک سهمِ او بر جای افتاد، خصائلِ حمیده و فضائلِ پسندیده که باری تعالیٰ بدان صاحبِ سعادت از خزائنِ کرمِ خویش عطا کرده از حدِّ احصار بیرونست ✡

بعد فتحِ بلادِ سیکهر توجّه بمنازلِ صوبِ جاجنگر شد بمهامه و فیافیٔ ظلمات که از شبِ دیجور تاریک‌تر و از موی سر باریک‌تر بود بر مور مرورِ آن مقتضی ازدحام بودی و بر مار دخولِ آن موجب اقتحام:

بوصفش اندر طبعِ کریم گردد کُند
برنگش اندر دیوِ رجیم گردد ضال
سموم وار بود بادهای آن محرق
سموم وار بود بادهای آن قتّال
طریقهاش بباریکیٔ پل محشر
مضیقهاش بتاریکیٔ دلِ دجّال

---

[1] Text: یابد.

[2] Text: است.

شبی از دلِ سنـــگ تاریک‌تر
رهی از سرِ موی باریک‌تر

هر منزلی را سبیل هر روزی بیست میل بسرعتِ لیالی و ایّام سیرِ افواج ، در سردئ سرما بودی ، در احشائ سبیل و اثنائ طریق در آن ممرِّ مضیق عجب حالی مشاهده شد ، مقدارِ پنج فرسنگ طول و یک میل عرض اشجارِ طوال اعجازِ خاویه گشته ، از اصول سقوط و از رؤس هبوط یافته و بعضی که قائم مانده درختی هم قدِّ وی برو معلّق ، بالاتّفاق اعصان هم دیگر درباقته ، چون هیأت آن قطعات خلافِ متجاورات مشاهده شد خاص و عامِ لشکر متعجب گشتند که برین نوعِ انکسار این مقدار اشجار را چه سان طاری شده ، براهمهٔ آن بلاد گفتند که پیش از قدومِ اقدامِ لشکرِ اسلام دو ماه دیوی از باد درین حدود افتاد ، این درختان را از بیخ و بنیاد بر کند و بر زمین انداخت ، و بعضی درخت را بر درخت ایستاده شاخ در شاخ پیچیده و معلّق ساخت ، براهمه و کاهنه و اهلِ طیره تطیّر کردند که قریب الایّام از قهرِ لشکرِ اسلام در نواحئ این مملکت وقوعِ دواهی خواهد بود و از دست جحافل و سرایا بلاها بر سر خواهد رسید ، هم بدان قال که فالِ ایشان بود این حال در آن محل حالّ شد ۞

چون از آنجا در کنفِ عصمت الٰهی موکبِ همایون با کوکبهٔ پادشاهی در تینه نگر که شهریست از شهرهای جاجنگر از توطیهٔ رجالِ غزا بکر مانده (برسید) بدخول مردانِ جنگی ثیّبه گشت ، و دماغِ اهل آن قلعها که به پنبهٔ تکبّر خلل پذیرفته بود به تنبیهِ

تیغ پنبهٔ غرور از سرِ جراحت افگند وکاسِ راس او را با مغزِ نخوت
در هم شکست ٭

لشکر اسلام با غنایمِ کثیره از آنجا روان شده بمنازلِ
معتاد بکنیا نگر رسید، شهریست که عمراناتِ او شش فرسخ
زمین است، سکّانِ او همه برهمنان با ترفه و تنعّم، از خوف
غارت بیغم، مساکن و مواطنِ شان در حدائق و بساتین فواکه
و ریاحین، چون در خلال آن دیار لشکرهائ منصور نصرهم الله
درآمد التماس نمودند که شهری با چنین عظمت و مقامی چنین
پرنعمت آدمیان خوب با صورِ مرغوب بر حسب مطلوب دریافته ایم،
هر یکی بدین صفت موصوف و مردم بمحبّتِ او مشغوف،
حرکات و سکناتِ شان دلهای ما را ربوده است، از خوفِ
نقبای درگاه و رقبای با جاه دست بر ایشان دراز کردن نمی‌توانیم
اگر فرمان شود اغتنام نمائیم و غنایم کثیره بر دستِ لشکرِ اسلام
افتد، شهریست معمور و شهدیست بی زنبور، فرمان شد مقصدِ
ما مصایدِ پیلان است و کسرِ بتان، و استیصالِ رای، این مواضع
از مضافات و توابع است، شهرِ مشهور و بلدِ معمور پیشتر است
که آنجا کثرتِ پیل و مال و غنم و بقر است، و آنجا مقرّرای
جاجنگر است، و لشکر را که جریده چندین راه بریده و مشقّتِ
بسیار کشیده اینجا رسیده، نیّت و قصد همین است، اگر پیش
از وصول بمقصد اجازت کنیم دست بغارت برند، اثقال و احمال
دامن‌گیرِ ایشان شوند، اگر مشغولِ آن گردند تمنّای چیزی که
اهم است بدامنِ شان نرسد:

☆ بیت ☆

بسی در قفای هزیمت مران
مبادا که دور افگنی یاوران
بدنبالِ غارت نرانده[1] سپاه
که خالی بماند پسِ پشتِ شاه
سپه را نگهبانیٔ شهـــریار
به از جنگ در حلقهٔ کارزار

از آن کار این کار را مهم دار، ازین کار انکار کن انکار، که این شهر در گذرگاهِ لشکر بیفتاد، چون اصل بر دست افتد فرع تابعست، انشاء الله تعالی چون سالم و غانم بعد فتحِ مقصد و نجحِ مقصود مراجعت شود، تراهمه با همه[2] اَتْباعِ اِتْباعِ[3] فواضل و غنائم زواید اثقال خواهند بود، بوجوه[4] موعظت از غارت ایتمارِ امرِ حضرت واجب شناختند، و آنرا همچنان برهمان گذاشتند، از آنجا عزمِ پیشتر شد، فوجی از رای برای استخبارِ ورودِ لشکرِ اسلام آمده بود، برسبیلِ عین در عینِ طریق پناه گرفته، بگمانِ آنکه در نخواهد آمد مسکنِ خود ساخته، تا از واردی مردی و طارقی فردی استکشاف حال کنند و خبر بسوی رای برند، بیگمان بر شان لشکر فجأةً در رسید، راياتِ ظفر آیات را دیدند، مرغِ جان از قفصِ قالب شان پریده با جمعهم اسیر شدند، چون رای بر اعتمادِ اخبارِ شان پای بر جای مانده بود مترصّد آنکه

---

[1] Text: نراند.

[2] Text: تراهمه برهمه.

[3] Text: اتباع.

[4] Text: بوجود موعضت و غارت.

از وصولِ لشکرِ اسلام انهای آنها خواهند کرد، چون هیچ یکی از ایشان از کمندِ اجل نجَست و نخست هم ایشان که عینِ راه بودند با سر و قتل مبتلا گشتند خبر برای نرسید تا غبارِ افواج و عثارِ لشکرِ منصور در کُل کُل گهاتی که آن کل کل ست و ستک (sic) ازو هزار فرسنگ است رسید، و گردِ نعالِ مراکبِ لشکر در گردِ حصارِ سارنگ گهر چون گردِ باد درآمد و خاک بر سرِ رای بد رای افتاد :

٭ بیت ٭

ز سمِ ستور آن دران پهن دشت
زمین شش شد و آسمان گشت هشت

چارۀ خود از جای قرار جز فرار نیافت و از گُریز گریز ندیده ده بدهقان سپرد و راه فرار گرفت، چون رای پُربهاندیو چترِ همایونِ ظلّ الله را معائنه کرد بجانب چتر گهر گریخت، و القاء خیل بر غارتِ پیلان کرد، و درمیانِ افیالِ وحشی در جنگل اسراع نمود تا گر بدین تعبیه از چنگلِ رخِ پیادگانِ شاه رهائی یابد، چون موکبِ سکندرِ ثانی با حصولِ امانی انک : ٭ بیت ٭

ز چرخ ناله برآید چو او کشید کمان
بهر ذرّه در افتد چو او کشاد کمین

از آن ظلمات عبور فرموده سُریۀ لشکر را بتعاقبِ رای گسیل کرد، و افواجِ منصور را بهر سمتی وجهتی فرستاد تا در سواحلِ دریای شرقی چون صاعقه و برق بر کفّار زنند و اهلِ شرک را علفِ شمشیرِ اسلام کنند، و ذراریٔ ایشان اسیر سازند و اسباب و املاکِ ایشان را غنیمت گیرند و ارسال کتائب باطراف

و جوانب به تتبّع شکارگاهِ پیلان فرمود، و متجسسان در آجام فرستاد، خبر آوردند که در فلان جنگل در موضعی گلّهٔ پیلان دیده‌ام، جز پیلانِ شاه اخذِ ایشان میسّر نشود، بدلالتِ این گروه حرّبِ[1] رکابِ همایون بر آن سمت شد، و اسیرانی که در اثنای راه ماخوذ شده بودند از اخبارِ ایشان محقّق شد قطعاً و یقیناً جمعی پیلان در آن جای هستند، این شکارگاه را بدورِ شش فرسنگ فرمود تا از کندهٔ درختانِ برکنده برای پیلانِ زنده حصنی ساختند، و سوری پرداختند، و اطرافِ آنرا افواجِ لشکر محیط شد، چنانچه مور را از داخل خروج و مار را از خارجِ آن دخول ممکن نه گردد، در هفت روز مرتّب شد و بهائی که درونِ دائرهٔ آن سور محصر شده بودند شور در ایشان افتاد، و سوز عطش وجوع در جوفِ ایشان اثر کرد. جوق جوق باکی و شاکی کاسِ یاس بر دست و رسنِ محن و طنابِ اضطراب و اسیری در گردن، از صغار و کبار بیکبار فریاد برآوردند که بی‌قوّت شدیم و اولاد و احفاد را که زمرّد و یاقوت بوده‌اند آتشِ نامرادی در بوتهٔ بلا گداز میدهد رجای بقا در آن داریم که در سلکِ اسرای امرای لشکر باشیم: ☆ بیت ☆

هر بنده که آزاد شود شاد شود
من شاد برآنم که ترا بنده شوم

اسیریٔ ما بدستِ لشکرِ منصور موجبِ بقای ما ست مرحمت در حقِّ ما محبوسان آن باشد که در سلسلهٔ اساری مسلسل گردانند:

---

[1] Text: هرب.

درون قفص طپد هر کجا گرفتاریست
من از کمند تو تا زنده‌ام نخواهم جَست
مطیعِ امرِ تو ام گر دلم بخواهی سوخت
اسیرِ حکمِ تو ام گر تنم بخواهی خَست

فرمان شد امان دهیم لیکن بشرط آنکه پیلانی که درین محوطه در اند بما نمائند، قبول کردند، و بدین شرط خلاص یافتند، خبر آوردند که درون این دائره در فلان ناحیه پیلان هستند از گاهِ احصار آب و کاه نیافته و گاه و بیگاه درین جائگاه در میشوند، چناں عاجز شده‌اند که اگر دستهٔ کاه بر دست گرفته بدیشان می‌نمائند با مردم الفت می‌ورزند، همان گروه را دلیل ساخته بشکارِ پیل سواری شد، و درونِ آن محوطه تفتیش فرمود، بلطائفِ احتیال پیلاں همچون جبال و فطنت و حیال چنانکه در فکرِ و خیال کسی صورت نه بندد در قید آورده، هم در اثنای شکار خبر آوردند که رای چتر گهر نیز فرار نموده، پیلانِ خدمتی و عرضه‌داشت رفع کرده که بی‌توشه درین گوشه افتاده‌ام، بنده و بنده‌زادهٔ درگاهم، از آبا و اجداد خدمتگارِ مخلص و دولت خواهم همیشه کارِ ما بندگی و خدمتگاریست و سعادت و دولتِ این دیارست که اعلام بر سرِ این بندگان طالع شده است:

فرّخ صباح آنکه تو بروی گذر کنی
فیروز روز آنکه تو بروی نظر کنی
آزاد بندهٔ که رود در رکابِ تو
خورّم ولایتی که تو آنجا سفر کنی

و باز نموده که ولایت را و شهر را لشکرِ منصور بتاراج می‌برد، من از خوفِ جان گریخته در بیابانی خزیده هرچه دارم خدمتی پیش آرم: ☆ بیت ☆

گر بکوئ دل که از تیر تو خست
خدمتی بیرون کشم پیکان بهم

پیدا که از بیم لشکر در جنگل گذاشته بودم تا پیلانِ وحشی بشکارِ پیلخانهٔ خاص جمع خواهند آمد، و پیلانِ وحشی با خود آورده بودم، تیمار با خدمتّیات پیشِ درگاه فرستاد (م) جز یک پیل که داشته‌ام، اگر در حقِ این بنده و بنده‌زاده از درگاه مرحمت شود و جان را امان باشد بدارم تا بمرحمتِ حضرت نامِ گجپتی که اباً وجداً بارث رسیده است بر نیفتد، و تا زنده باشم همیشه پیلانِ زنده هر سال ارسال نمائم، و پیش از[1] رسیدنِ خدمتی رای باکی نام وزیرِ او بحضرت آمد و باز نمود که سالها از ابا و اجداد رای را خدمت کردم، این زمان بیجرمی مرا ایذا میکند، چون کار بجان و کارد باستخوان برسید روی ازو تافتم، از رای باکی و شاکی که تاکی مظلوم رای باشم، و حالِ خود باکه گوئم، و از ناپاکئ رای باکه حکائت کنم، بختِ من بود که رایات بر سرِ وقت من رسید، پیشِ تخت آمدم تا بنیلِ مراحمِ درگاه استظهار یابم:

ای سپهرِ ملک را اقبالِ تو صاحب قران
وای جهانِ عدل را انصافِ تو مالک رقاب

---

[1] Text: سار.

دستِ عدلت گر بخواهد آشیان داند نهاد
کبک را در مخلبِ شاهین و منقار عقاب

در چنین محل که راياتِ همایون بر سطحِ این بلاد ظلیل گشته است :

✡ بیت ✡

دولت عنانِ ملک بدستِ تو باز داد
اقبال بر براقِ مرادت سوار کرد
تیغت که باغ ملک برایش نهاده‌اند
روی زمین ز خونِ عدو لاله‌زار کرد
با زورِ بازوی تو مقر شد بافترا
آنکس که وصف رستم و اسفندیار کرد
بس پیلِ مست را که نهیبت فرو شکست
بس شیرِ شرزه که شکوهت شکار کرد

اگر استخلاص نفرمایند انقطاعِ رجای بقا روی نماید :

درین ایّام اگر دولت نیابم   بامیـــد کدام ایّام باشم

و چون رای جاجنگر و زمین‌دارانِ این ولایت (مرا) برکشیدهٔ حضرت دانند فضولِ شان را با من اثری نماید :   ✡ بیت ✡

زانروی که بندهٔ تو بدانند مرا   بر مردمکِ چشم نشانند مرا
لطفِ تو که عامست عنایت فرمود   ورنه چه کسم ، کیم ، چه خوانند مرا

او را برحمتِ پادشاهانه و عاطفتِ خسروانه مخصوص گردانید ، و خلعتِ تشریف پوشانید و مراتبِ طبل و عَلَم داد و بر صفحهٔ امنیّتِ او رقمِ انجاح کشید ، هم در آوانِ شکارِ فیلان خانِ اعظم خاقانِ معظّم احمد خان که از مملکتِ بنگاله از دستِ ظلمِ سلطان

شمس الدّین بیرون آمده بود و بر رای جاجنگر پیوسته، سبحان الله تا چه غائت ظلمِ او سرائت کرده باشد که مؤمنان ازوی گریخته پناه برِ کفار آرند:

ستم در عهدِ او زاں گونه خونی شد که هر ساعت
اجل بهرِ شفاعت آید و دستِ ستم گیرد

آن مظلوم برسیدنِ رایاتِ همایون با لشکرهای اسلام از کفّار بیرون آمد و با خیل و تبع خویش بدرگاهِ جهان پناه پیوست، مرحمتِ حضرت چتر سبیل چنانکه آرزو و امید داشت با مراتب و اسپانِ بسیار و اموالِ بیشمار یافت، و ملازمت رکاب همایون گزید، از آنجا رای همایون لازال مسرور این اقتضا کرد که بنگاه[1] و لشکر را بموافقتِ ملک ملوک الشرف و الحجاب سپهکشِ زمان تهمتنِ گیهان الغ اعظم نائب باربک ابراهیم اخوه و ملوک الشرق سپهکشِ زمان تهمتنِ گیهان قهرمانِ العساکر صاحبِ دیوان عرضِ ممالک بشیر سلطانی در موضع گرناس و راياتِ ظفر آیات بقلعِ بتخانهٔ جگنات توجّه فرمود، و آن معبدِ مشرکان آن زمین و معتقد کافران چین و ماچین است، و مشهورترینِ معابد ایشانست، نباهای با تکلّف کرده و تمثال دمیه و صورتِ جلیه بر جدراں و حیطاں نگاشته، و سکنهٔ آنرا هیئت و شاره و زیّ نوعی دیگر و در صفحه وجوه شان ظلمه پیدا، و نورِ عرض ای رونقِ ابرو ندیده، و حسم و شخص نحیف، و جثّه و جرم و جسد ضعیف، و از نسمه و جو (sic) ای نفس و روح چنانستی که حشاشه

---

[1] Text: بنگاله.

و رمق مانده است، سیصد هزار دینار نقره سالی در مطبخِ آن صرف میشود، و از اقصیٔ جوانب و اطراف ابنا و بنات رایات و برهمناتِ ضال و مضلل از گمراهی پویان، و جماعتی اتباعِ شیاطین از زنانِ وسواسی که آنرا دیوداسی[1] میخوانند، و مردان بهرزه زدن که ایشان را بهرزه خوانند، نشسته خلق را اضلال میکنند، بعضی چون ذبائح خونِ خویش را پیشِ بت اهراق میکنند، و بعضی اجزایِ اعضای خویش را خلعِ تقطیع میپوشانند، و بعضی از ربوهٔ رفیعه و شواهقِ منیعه در مکانِ سحیق و میاهِ عمیق بهبوط غریق، و بعضی باستیقادِ اضغاث وقود و ابابیلِ حطب در ظلماتِ لهب حریق میگردند، و جملهٔ کُفّار که در آن دیار هستند بت رامی پرستند. معبود بحقِ لا اله الا الله وحدهُ لا شریك لهُ پادشاه اسلام را موفّق گردانید تا این بتخانهٔ قدیم را که بر لبِ دریای شرقی بود خراب کرد، بعد تخریبِ بدریا غرق گردانید و بتِ جگنات را فرمود که سوراخ در بینی کردند و بذّلِ خرور مخرور گردانیدند و با اصنامِ دیگر که در بلادِ جاجنگر مشرکان معبود ساخته بودند با تمثال جگناته بمثالِ ملقیات کواسده[2] برکندند، تا در عتبات مساجد اسلام بر ممرِ سنّیان[3] و راه گذرِ مصلّیان افگنند و در آستانه هر مسجدی شان بخسپانند تا در صدور و ورود و دخولِ و خروج صدور و اضلاعِ این اصنام بنعالِ اقدامِ اهلِ اسلام سوده گردند، بعنائت حقّ جلّ و علا، بعدِ حصولِ این مرام از لبِ دریای شرقی عود اتّفاق افتاد، بعضی از سرانِ افواج

---

[1] Text: مسواسی.

[2] Text: کواسنده.

[3] Text: سنیات.

که برای نهب و تاراج نامزد بودند خبر فرستادند که نزدیک ساحلِ دریا جزیره ایست و در و آب‌گیریست طویل و عریض که مقدارِ صد هزار مردمِ جاجنگر آنجا[1] پناه گرفته با زن و فرزند و خویش و پیوند، هر صورتی چون ماهی و آفتابی برین صورت چون ماهی در چنین آبی مانده‌اند، و گفتند سلطان شمس الدّین ضابطِ لکهنوتی با جمله لشکرِ خویش درین ساحلِ دریا محیط شده بود بر ایشان قدرت نیافت و صفر الیدین بگذشت، باستماعِ این خبر رکابِ همایون را رکضت بدان سمت شد و افواج را بر سمتِ هر رکنی تعیّن کرد تا از هر طرف درآیند و جزیره را بشمشیرِ آبدار از قتلِ مشرکان طشتِ پرخون سازند، چون اعلامِ ظفر اعلامِ همایون مطالعِ سعد و اختر میمون با لشکرهای دریا جوش بر ساحلِ آن جزیره طالع شد:

زمین چو روئ فلک گشته از سلاح
روی فلک چو پشتِ زمین گشته از غبار
از سمِّ مرکبان شده مانند غار، کوه
و از شخصِ کشتگان شده مانند کوه، غار

قادرِ لم‌یزل و لایزال رعب در قلوبِ آن جمعِ مغلوب القا کرد، چون مدّ بصرِ ایشان بر شعاع اسنّهٔ رماحِ نصر مفتاح، و سنای سیوفِ مسلولهٔ مقدّمه و جناح وقت الصّباح رسید صیاح برآوردند در لجّهٔ دریا بالحاحِ عجز با جمعهم تیغ و سپر و تیر و کمان و جوشن و زره در آب افگندند:

شمشیر زدن از تو، از ما سپر اندازی

---

[1] Text: آنرا.

و سرِ رقیب بر زمین نهادند و پیش از آن لشکر از هر طرفی و جائی درآمده بود و تیغِ برق صدمت را بر فرقِ لاجیانِ دریای شرق و فرقِ بد دینان را بدریای خونِ شان غرق کرده و تنهای شان را که از انقیادِ امرِ شاهی آبی بوده‌اند لقمهٔ ماهی و طعمهٔ شیرِ آبی گردانیده:

✲ بیت ✲

ز خون هفت دریا برآمد بهم   زمین از دگر سو
برون داد نم

از هر جنس عاتق و عذرا ای بکر و نصف، و عوان ای میانه سال و عروس و عجوز و غروب و شیب ای شو دیده و مذکار آنکه همه نرزاید و منیاث آنکه همه ماده زائد و نزور ای اندک زائنده و نثور ای بسیار زائنده و ارمله و بیوه و ایّم ای بی‌شوی و خریده ای شرمگین و جواری نیکوخوی و غانیّة ای زنی آراسته بی‌آرائش، در خانهٔ هر لشکری و عسکری و تابع ای چاکر ازین غنیمت عبد و غلام و أمه و وقنسیه ای خینیاگر و ظیر ای دایه و حاضسه ای پیشکاره بخدمت مشغول، و بقایای ما قیل را اسیر کرد، و نسوان شان را از مرضعه و حبلئ هر خیلی مطوّق و مسلسل مقیّد و مغلغل گردانید، از کفّار جز خونِ شان نشان نمانده:

پرسید هرکه دید تو آبی و یادمی
گفتا جزیره ایست پر از خونِ آدمی

از آنجا مظفّر و منصور مرفه و مسرور در مقامی که بنگاه مقام کرده بود نزول شد و مجموع افواج از جوانب با مغانمِ کثیره بحضرت پیوست، از آنجا بر سمت پدم تلاؤکه که مسکنِ پیلانِ وحشی است بشکار عزیمت شد، در کرانهٔ لبِ آبِ مهاندی

که پیلان بعدد ستاره در و سیّاره اند بقصدِ قتل فیل تتبّع آثار کرده پیِٔ پیلان بیعدد یافته ، آنجا در دامنِ کوه شکارِ پیل حاصل گشت ، پیلان کوه شکوه را بزخم تیر انداخته جمیع امانی که برای حصول آن نهضتِ رکاب بر آن سمت شده بود بعونِ ربّانی بر حسبِ ارادت میسّر شد :

ای از مکارمِ تو شده در جهان خبر
افگنده از سیاستِ تو آسمان سپر
گیتی زبان کشاده بمدحِ تو و فلک
بسته ز بهرِ خدمتِ تو درمیان کمر
با موکبِ جلالتِ تو هم کَتَف شرف
با موکبِ سعادتِ تو هم عنان ظفر

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.
Volume VIII, 1942.
Article No. 4.

Dharma Worship.

By K. P. Chattopadhyay.

The worship of Dharma is an old cult in Bengal, and has produced a number of works in verse describing the origin and merits of Dharma Pūjā. Some of these narratives, known as Dharmamaṅgala have been published. Others still remain as manuscripts.[1] A somewhat different class of work is the Śūnya Purāṇa, which resembles the Maṅgala works. At the same time it is more archaic in character and refers more to the details of worship.[2] Another work, the Dharma Pūjābidhān, is an account of the mode of worship.[3] The literature of the Dharma cult has been examined by various scholars and there are a number of valuable articles[4] on this subject. The editors of the Śūnya Purāṇa consider that work to be the oldest account in verse of the worship of Dharma and the associated traditions. The manuscripts consulted by the editors were not older than three hundred years, but the editors place the date of composition in the eleventh century A.D. An able critic, Śrī Jogeś Rāy, has shown that there is a good case for placing it about two centuries later. The dates of the Maṅgalas have also been disputed. But some of them were undoubtedly composed in the sixteenth century while the last of these works was written in the eighteenth century.

---

[1] I have consulted the following published works of this category:—

(*a*) Śrī Dharmamaṅgala by Mānik Ganguli, edited by Mahāmahopādhyāy Haraprasād Śāstrī and Śrī Dīneścandra Sen. Calcutta, 1312 B.S. (=1906 A.D.). Sāhitya Pariṣat publication.

(*b*) Śrī Dharmamaṅgala by Mahākabi Ghanaram Chakrabarti, Kabiratna. Calcutta, 1318 B.S. (=1912 A.D.).

(*c*) Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Mayurbhaṭṭa, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay. Calcutta, 1337 B.S. (=1931 A.D.). S.P. publication. This account is based not on any old manuscript but a modern revised version.

(*d*) Anādimaṅgala bā Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Kabi Rāmdās Ādak, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay. Calcutta, 1345 B.S. (=1939 A.D.). S.P. publication.

I have not consulted any manuscripts but used summaries noted about those writings by various authors, quoting such references, cf. Sahadeb Chakrabartir Dharmamaṅgal by Śrī Ambikācaran Gupta, *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Calcutta, 1304 B.S. (=1898 A.D.).

The account of Ruparām was heard by me in Midnapur at a celebration of Dharma Pūjā.

[2] Śūnya Purāṇa by Ramāi Paṇḍit (?), edited by Śrī Nagendranath Basu. Calcutta, B.S. 1314 (=1908 A.D.). S.P. publication.

[3] Dharma Pūjābidhān by Ramāi Paṇḍit (?), edited by Śrī Nanigopal Bandopadhyay. Calcutta, B.S. 1323 (=1917 A.D.). S.P. publication.

[4] Most of the important articles have been published in the *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* (the journal of the academy of Bengalee literature), and a few also in the *Prabāsī*. Only the important articles have been mentioned. I have avoided unnecessary multiplication of references which would have occurred if I had included all the notes contributed on this subject. The important articles will be found in *S.P.P.*, Vols. 4, 12, 13, 15, 16, 36, and 38. Valuable discussions are to be found in the introductions to Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Mayurbhaṭṭa, Anādimaṅgala bā Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Kabi Rāmdās Ādak, Śūnya Purāṇa by Ramāi Paṇḍit (?), and Dharma Pūjābidhān by Ramāi Paṇḍit (?), noted above.

Whatever be its exact date, the Śūnya Purāṇa and some of the Maṅgalas have preserved for us an account of Dharma worship, and details of the Dharma cult, which must of necessity have been based on lost prototypes dating from the 13th or 14th century and describing a well-established practice and tradition of that period.[1]

In the Śūnya Purāṇa the poet starts with a description of creation. There was nothing but empty space, and in it was the *Prabhu* (Lord) alone. The Lord thought, 'Whom shall I create?' First came from him air or breath or wind. Then the Lord created his own body. From the yawn of Lord Dharma (now mentioned by this name) was born the owl who was fed with his spittle. A part of it fell and became the primeval waters on which the Lord and the owl floated. From a feather of the owl was born the goose. Next came the tortoise from a touch of the Lord's hand on the waters. Attempts had been made by the Lord to rest successively on a bubble, the owl, the goose and the tortoise. But the bubble broke and the animals each in its turn became tired of His weight, after a time. So now, on the advice of the owl, the Lord threw on the waters his golden sacred thread, tearing it up. It became at once the great thousand-hooded snake Bāsuki. His ornaments similarly became frogs and supplied food to the snake. Now the Lord rubbed his hand on his own throat and put the little dirt that had gathered there, on the snake's head. This became Básumatī or the Earth. Now waters were moved to three sides of the Earth, and the Lord and the owl went to see the earth. The exertion caused them to perspire. The Lord wiped off the sweat of half his body (one side only) and from it was born Ādyā Śakti. She was left behind and the Lord created the river Ballukā, on the banks of which is placed the traditional site of origin of Dharma worship. There the Lord remained in contemplation. By this time Ādyā Śakti had become a young woman and she felt desire. Kāmadeba or the god of love was born at once and he went with her message to the Lord and the owl. The Lord put Kāmadeba in a pot of earth and it became full of poison. Then they came and saw Ādyā but did not know where to find her mate. The pot of poison (Kāmadeba) was left in her care and they went back to Ballukā ostensibly to find her a groom. Ādyā became despondent and swallowed the poison. She conceived in consequence and three blind sons came out of her body, Brahmā through the fontanelle, Viṣṇu through her navel, and Śiva through the vagina. The Lord now came floating as a putrid corpse to the three brothers as they sat in contemplation. Brahmā and Viṣṇu failed to recognize the Lord and pushed the corpse away. But Śiva wondered how there could be death before there was birth of any other besides themselves. He saw through the deception and pleased Dharma by his homage. The three gods now got their eyes through the Lord's favour, and were allotted their duties, usual to them in other traditional accounts. Brahmā would create, Viṣṇu would protect and nourish, Śiva would destroy. Ādyā Śakti would live in all creatures as the female organ and Maheś (Śiva) would marry her in another birth. Dharma himself remained in space on the owl.

---

[1] The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, by Sunīti Kumār Chatterji. Calcutta University Press, 1926.

Ramāi Paṇḍiter Dharmamaṅgal, by Śrī Haraprasād Śāstrī. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 4, B.S. 1304.

Do. Pariśiṣṭa, by Śrī Benodebihārī Kābyatīrtha. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 4 (1898).

Sahadeb Chakrabartir Dharmamaṅgal, by Śrī Ambikācaran Gupta. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 4.

Māṇik Gāngulī o Dharmamaṅgal, by Śrī Brojosundar Sanyal. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 12.

Dharmamaṅgal, by Śrī Dīneścandra Sen. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 13.

Dharmamaṅgal praṇetā Māṇik Gāngulī, by Śrī Jogeścandra Rāy. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 15.

Śūnya Purāṇa, by Śrī Jogeścandra Rāy. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 16.

Śūnya Purāṇa sambandhe Mantabya, by Śrī Nagendranath Basu. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 16.

Dharmamaṅgaler ādikabi Mayurbhaṭṭa, by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 36.

Śūnya Purāṇa, by Śrī Jogeścandra Rāy. *S.P.P.*, Vol. 38.

Next follows a description of worship of Dharma, beginning with drawing of water for the sacred pot. Dharma is now to be bathed and the devotees make sandal paste for *ṭikā* or initiation. Flowers are gathered, Gaṇeśa is offered worship first and then Dharma. The ceremony is stated to be performed by king Haricandra (Hariścandra) and his queen Madanā for the birth of a son. A new *maṇḍap* (shed) is stated to have been set up and four doors (on four sides) are opened for the queen successively. The conventional 'house' of Dharma is now shown to the royal worshippers. There is a repetition of the description and a reference to the merits of Dharma worship. The devotee is to observe habiṣya (a special restricted diet) on a Friday and offer pūjā on Saturday. There is a reference to the great respect in which Dharma is held in Ceylon. The temple (house) of Dharma is described in detail. Stones are dressed, wooden pillars are put up and toddy palm poles and areca poles are split, apparently for the roof. Peacock feathers are to cover the roof of Dharma's house. An *ālam*, or bamboo cut ceremonially, is stated to be placed by each door, and the *pādukā* (sandals) of Dharma are worshipped. The offerings to Dharma are now described—plantain and other fruits, milk, clarified butter, honey, curds and *ātap* rice. The whole of the food offerings is known as *manui*. It is followed by betel leaves for 'cleansing the mouth' as it is termed. The sage Mārkaṇḍeya is stated to have offended Dharma and become a leper; he was cured when his wife thus offered worship to Dharma. Incense is now burnt probably for the swinging of devotees over its flame; but this is not stated. A horse is also said to be saddled for Dharma.

There is a description of worship and cutting of the *Gāmbhāri* or *gāmār* (*Gmelina arborea*, Linn.) tree. The wood is sent to the blacksmith to be dressed and made properly, i.e. fitted with nails. A fresh description of the rites starts here, of the bathing of Dharma, his worship and other details. A horse is again mentioned as drawing the car of Dharma. In this portion of the book is described the placing of sacred sand from Ballukā, and of coral, pearls, silver and gold, and *ātap* (sun-dried) rice on the back of the tortoise-shaped deity Dharma. A ceremony called *muktisnān* is also mentioned. After this, however, comes a story of Śiva working the plough—a golden plough with a share of silver. Paddy is stated to have originated from sexual desire of Śiva, from his semen. A fresh start is again made to describe the rites, and the tying of an armlet as part of the initiation of the devotee is mentioned. Another brief reiteration of the mode of worship occurs. The armlet is now stated to be of copper. There is mention of animal sacrifice before the Devī, and also further on, the origin of the goat from incest.

In the Dharma Pūjābidhān, first of all elaborate rituals are mentioned, with incantations in Sanskrit for setting up the Dharma deity and other deities and worshipping them. There are at the same time verses in Bengalee which are to be recited at the time of the worship. There is clear mention of worship by a Brāhmaṇ (Devaśarmā) in this description of the *gṛhabharan* type of Dharma pūjā. Formal inclusion in the group of worshippers now takes place of (*a*) the Dhāmātkarṇi or Dharmādhikaraṇa, who is in charge of the cooking of offerings, (*b*) the singers of the songs of Dharma, (*c*) the *grahavipra* and then others including the *deul sanyāsi* and the *pāṭbhakta*. Twelve *sanyāsis* must be included, and they are each given a piece of cane to hold in their hand, after they have put on the *uttarīya*. Worship is offered first to Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, and after that to Dharma. Then follows worship of Kaminyā—the female devotee companion of Dharma. Next are worshipped Lakṣmī, Manasā, Bhairaba, Bāsuli, Saraswatī, Kuvera, Ṣaṣṭhī, Bhagavatī and finally the divine keepers of the doors. In the second part of the work, the mantras are fuller and the rites noted carefully. Mention is also made of worship of Dharma's owl after the worship of Dharma, and of Basumatī, i.e. Earth, after Lakṣmī. Worship is also offered to Brahmā, his consort, to Ananta, Garuḍa and Viśwakarmā, to Bāneśwar and minor deities, including the *grahas*. In a third portion of this work, the description of rites starts from the beginning but passes on quickly to worship of the *gāmār* tree and bathing of pearls represented by rice grains. There is mention of *hindol*, i.e. fire-swing of devotees, of the sacrifice of a goat, of the placing of the head in a pot and invoking its resuscitation. Next follows a shorter version of the so-called Śūnya Purāṇa.

In the Dharmamaṅgalas of Māṇik Gāngulī, of Ghanarām, and the Anādimaṅgala of Rāmdās Ādak, there is a tale of creation, and an account of the worship of Dharma by King Hariścandra and his wife. The king and queen were childless, and worshipped Dharma for a son. The boon was granted, according to one account, only when the king and queen offered their lives to Dharma by falling on a razor-sharp weapon. They were brought back to life and given the boon of a son, on condition that the son would be sacrificed to Dharma. The son was named Luicandra. When the boy was twelve years of age, Dharma came disguised as an ascetic, and asked the king and queen to kill and cook their son as food for him. Promise bound, this request was complied with; but in reality it was an illusion. Dharma was merely testing their worth. This anecdote was related to Rañjābatī, queen of Karṇa Sen, when she lamented her childless state. She offered worship to Dharma at Cāmpāi-ghat on the banks of the river Dwārkeśwar. Ramāi Paṇdit was the priest who performed the rites. Rañjābatī performed all the rites, including the swing over fire, head downwards, and the fall on *kāṭāri* (curved knives) fixed on plantain stems. Finally she threw herself on sharp iron spikes and died on them. She was now brought back to life by Dharma and granted her boon. This son, Lausen, is the hero of the Maṅgala literature of Dharma.

In the Dharma Purāṇa of Mayurbhaṭṭa, the first part relates the origin of Dharma worship and the reason why the image of Dharma is of stone. The deity Dharma is frankly identified with Viṣṇu and rationalizations are put forward to cover anomalies or obscure points and events in the genuinely older versions. The account begins not with the usual tale of creation, but the narration of accidental killing of a Brāhmaṇ by Dharma Sen, grandson of Lāusen already mentioned above. There is a long account of the origin of Ramāi Paṇdit and the adventures of his son Dharmadās. There is an obvious rationalization (on Pauranic lines, no doubt) of the anomaly of the claim of Brahmanic descent by Paṇḍits and their actual social rules. The worship of Dharma by a king Rañjit Rāy is described and an account of the adventures of Lāusen promised in the second part. This portion of the work has not so far been found.

According to the traditional accounts preserved by the Dom Paṇḍit who worships Jātrā-siddhi-rāy, i.e. Dharma, at Maynāpur in Bankura District[1] as well as the narrative of Mayurbhaṭṭa, Ramāi is stated to be of Brahmanic descent but brought up in the Dharma cult after he lost his parents in childhood. He received copper initiation at the age of fifteen. He had a son by Keśabatī who was born from the foot of Dharma. In the account from Bankura, Ramāi stated that the son would be initiated, i.e. given a copper ring and armlet, at the age of fourteen years and fourteen days. In the published narration of Mayurbhaṭṭa this is directed to be done, by Dharma. The son was named Dharmadās; he married a Dom's daughter according to the traditions obtained in Bankura and became the founder of the line of Dom Paṇḍit priests. The narrative of Mayurbhaṭṭa describes a marriage with a Brāhmaṇ girl. The armlet mentioned is worn on the right arm. The Dharma Paṇḍits are not, however, the only worshippers of Dharma. The *grahavipras*, i.e. Ācārya Brāhmaṇs, were apparently once serious rivals to the Paṇḍits, as they are referred to as having wrongfully taken up this worship, in the traditional account. In actual practice many lower castes supply priests to Dharma. This will be apparent from the accounts of the Dharma cults in different districts. Even some of the purer castes, however, sometimes act as devotees and worshippers. Thus in the Dharmamaṅgala of Ghanarām (p. 29, *ibid.*), a Bārui of name Sukhadatta is mentioned as having come to Maynā, carrying the footwear of Dharma in a golden seat on the head.

The Dharma deity known as Jātrā-siddhi-rāy, worshipped in the village Maynāpur in Bankura District, is revered by all castes including Brāhmaṇs. The priest is a Dom known as Paṇḍit. They do not accept water from other Doms who are not Paṇḍits, but serve as priests to them at marriage, funeral and other rites. The Paṇḍits accept cooked rice only from Brāhmaṇs and are endogamous. Although, like other Doms, they are held to be impure, yet at the worship of Dharma the sacred offerings of water are accepted from them even by the highest caste of Brāhmaṇ. The copper ring is stated to be worn on the index finger and this initiation takes the place of Upanayana or sacred thread ceremony among Brāhmaṇs.

The image of this and several other Dharmas are said to be of stone and shaped like a tortoise, about 4″ to 6″ long. The worship is stated to start on the Akṣaytṛtīyā, i.e. third day after new moon in Baiśākh (April-May), and ends on the full-moon day. The ceremony is not described but stated to be like the *gājan* of Śiva, i.e. the rites followed at Caḍak festival. During these twelve days offerings are cooked by Brāhmaṇ women. At other times offerings are made by the Paṇḍit priest, but cooked rice or any cooked food is not included.

---

[1] Ramāi Paṇḍit o Maynāpurer Jātrāsiddhi, by Benodebihārī Kābyatīrtha Bhaktibinode. *S.P. Patrikā*, Vol. 13. See also Śūnya Purāṇa, *ibid.*, introduction.

According to Śrī Jogeścandra Rāy[1] the images are mostly tortoise-like in shape, and all have tortoise backs. The priests in Bankura are known as Pāṛit. But priests may also be of Bāgdi, Namaśūdra, Kaibartta, Jugi, Tānti and other castes. According to the Gazetteer of the Bankura District[2] the most ancient Dharma 'is said to be Briddhaksha who is enshrined at Sankaripara in the town of Bishnupur. The name Briddhaksha means "the old-eyed one" and the god who is commonly known as Bura Dharma is represented by a piece of stone covered with vermillion and having metal eyes. . . . . It is said that the worship of this deity goes back to the days before the establishment of the Bishnupur Raj, i.e. over 1,100 years. . . . . Other representations of Dharma-raj of some celebrity are the following: . . . Bankura Rai of Indas is represented by a piece of stone. . . . The idol of Rupnarayan of Mangalpur is a piece of stone emblematical of the tortoise incarnation of Visnu'. Several other similar emblems are described.

Most of the images of Dharma which the writer of this paper observed in the districts of Birbhum, Midnapur and 24-Parganas were shaped like tortoises. In one case it had a tortoise back only. But the size, though generally as noted above, varied. At Labhpur in Birbhum, the deity measured about a foot each way. In Midnapur, the priests of the Dharma worship centres visited were all Paṇḍits (Dom) by caste. In Midnapur, like Bankura, they are termed Pāṛit. In Birbhum other castes like Kaibartta, Swarṇakār and Barṇa Brāhmaṇs also have charge of Dharma temples. In Labhpur, the deities were originally in charge of a Keot (Kaibartta) family; but as misfortunes befell them, they made over charge to another family of the Swarṇakār caste. It appears that first a cow of the Keot died; then the man lost his son. Finally, he himself died. This was stated to have happened about twenty years ago. In Raipur, Śrī Kālīmohan Ghosh states[3] that a local Brāhmaṇ performed the usual worship and that 'he was looked down upon by the rest of society'. Evidently, he was either a *Barṇa Brāhmaṇ* or a *grahavipra*. Some of the shrines are specially venerated and visits are paid by sufferers from rheumatism, the specific cure for which, according to the Birbhum District Gazetteer, is believed to be a pilgrimage to these shrines.[1] In 24-Parganas, including Calcutta and suburbs, the priests are of various castes. In Dhakuria, Garia and Bosepukur, the priests are Dom Paṇḍits. In Bhawanipur (in Calcutta), the priest is an Ācārya Brāhmaṇ (*grahavipra*) while in Chetla, there is a Jugi priest.

---

[1] Śūnya Purāṇa, by Śrī Jogeścandra Rāy. *S.P. Patrikā*, Vol. 16.
Śūnya Purāṇa, by Śrī Jogeścandra Rāy. *S.P. Patrikā*, Vol. 38.

[2] Bengal District Gazetteers, Bankura, by L. S. S. O'Malley. Calcutta, 1908.

[3] Raipur, by Kālīmohan Ghosh. Sriniketan, Birbhum, 1933. (Visvabharati publication.)

The worship of Dharma is of two kinds—the regular daily offerings, generally on a very modest scale, of *bātāsa* and flowers, and the annual celebration. A third kind of worship may be offered on occasions for vows made. This last variety of worship is also mentioned in the Śūnya Purāṇa. The rule noted there is to fast on a Friday and make offerings on a Saturday.

In 24-Parganas, I was informed that the usual practice is to make a vow to offer worship when cured; and if the desire is fulfilled, to carry out the pledge at the next full-moon day. Generally people make vows for cure of eye troubles. Gold or silver eyes are offered to the Dharma deity. On the day preceding full moon, the devotee keeps to a vegetarian diet. Next day, a fast is observed and the offerings are made. The vow may include burning incense, as it is termed. This is done by lighting charcoal in an earthen *mālsā* (hemispherical bowl) and throwing incense on it when the fire has blazed up. The pot is kept on the head, on each palm and also on the chest. Some devotees vow and offer blood from the chest by pricking the skin. Others again circumambulate the place of worship on their breast. The metallic eyes offered are fixed to the deity by means of a paste of resin (gum of *śāl* tree), vermillion and a little mustard oil.

The priest in charge of the place of worship and the deity is known as Devāṁsi in Western Bengal. The daily offerings are made by him. But for the annual celebration, in Birbhum at least, a low caste Brāhmaṇ is employed. This is done at Labhpur and, according to Śrī Kālīmohan Ghosh (*ibid.*), at Raipur. The temple of Dharma may be of brick or a shed. In Dhakuria in 24-Parganas, and in Labhpur in Birbhum, the deities were housed in a mud and bamboo structure with a tiled shed and a corrugated iron roof respectively.

In Calcutta and suburbs, the worship has lost most of its special features. In the town, the annual worship starts five days before the full moon in Baiśākh. The rites are similar to those for the *gājan* of Śiva, i.e. the Caḍak festival as performed in this area, in Central Bengal.[1] The ceremony could not be performed in Monoharpukur in 1934-35 and subsequently owing to lack of funds. The annual celebration was formerly a regular feature in this locality, but the bustee (hut clusters) in this area has been broken up by the Improvement Trust and their place taken by brick-built houses of the higher caste people, some of whom are non-Bengalees. So the festival has died out, as it cannot be celebrated without sufficient funds which have to be raised by subscription from local residents. Also, devotees are not available in the locality. In Dhakuria, the priest Akṣoy Paṇḍit who is over fifty years of age informed me that formerly there was a *gājan* like that of Śiva in this area. But it is no longer celebrated. He has seen it when a boy. *Hindol, Kã̄ṭā jhã̄p, Bã̄ṭi jhã̄p* and piercing with arrows all used to be performed at Bosepukur. Canes were carried by devotees who were initiated five days before the final rites, and invested with *uttarīya*. He had heard that a goat used to be sacrificed only if any one had promised it. He has never seen it done.

---

[1] Bengal District Gazetteers, Birbhum. Calcutta, 1910.

The Paṇḍit stated that their family has been among the earliest settlers in this part of the country, 'clearing the forest'. In the old days, the deity Dharma was held in great respect. Nowadays, the respect has decreased, and people sometimes make mistakes. Such lapses are, however, avenged by Dharma promptly. A Bhakta, who does not observe the rules carefully, dies within the year. This, stated the Paṇḍit, has happened several times within the past few years. In consequence people do not dare become devotees. In 1939 the celebration had to be carried out without any Bhakta. If there are devotees, Uttarīya is given on *dwādaśī*, i.e. fourth day prior to full moon. The loin-cloth and body-cloth are of ochre colour; and a sacred thread with kuśa root is also worn. There is no *deul* Bhakta or *koṭāl*. The ceremony nowadays starts on the day before full moon. A lamp is lighted with clarified butter and cotton wick before the deity and a *baran-dālā* or tray of *baran* used at weddings is placed in the shed, near the deity. It has on it wristlets of lac, conch shell bracelets, an iron wristlet, thread on a winder, a necklace, Ganges clay, betel leaf, areca nuts and other requisites. The *maṅgala hã̄ḍis*—earthen pots, three or five in number—containing turmeric, baiḍā (Terminalia belerica), haritaki (Terminali chebula), areca nut, cowry shell and *ātap* rice coloured with turmeric paste, are also kept there. Next day, at midday, women who have fasted since morning bathe. Dharma is carried in a basket known as *dhucuni* to this tank by the Paṇḍit; the women rub the deity with oil and turmeric and bathe it. The deity is now brought back to the temple, placed on the earthen seat in the basket and worshipped with flowers.

---

[1] A Short Account of the Carak Puja Ceremonial, by Ram Comal Sen *Journ. A.S.B.*, 1833.

Ādyer Gambhirā, by Śrī Haridās Pālit, B.S. 1319 (= 1913 A.D.). Chapter VI.

The Caḍak Festival of Bengal, by K. P. Chattopadhyay. *Journ. and Proc. A.S.B.*, 1934.

In Birbhum, the ceremony starts five days before the final celebration. The Debāṃsi, however, starts *habiṣya* from Akṣay-tṛtīyā, and on the last four days takes only fruit and milk. Bhaktas or devotees are initiated only four days before full moon. Among touchable low castes, people like Sadgopes, Sunḍis and Sekras, and impure groups (using these terms in the sense in which they were used by the orthodox Hindu of an earlier generation) like Keots and Bagdis, contribute devotees. Each man is invested with a bunch of threads termed the sacred thread, worn round the neck. Each devotee also puts on a new cloth, ties a *gāmchā* (body-cloth used as towel for rubbing the body also) round the waist and carries a cane with a curved end like the chief devotee of Caḍak. On the first day, the devotees perform *habiṣya*, prepare the 'sacred thread' from purchased thread by twisting and are invested with the same by the Debāṃsi. There is a chief Bhakta, known as *pāṭ* Bhakta. At Labhpur, this function is performed by the descendants of the former Keot Debāṃsi who gave up charge of the Dharma deities to the goldsmith. On the first day, the Debāṃsi takes the deity Bāneśwar who is also kept in the temple of Dharma to a tank near the village boundary. This deity is made of wood and shaped as shown in the figure like a post with a conical head, resembling a bulbous spear-head (Fig. 1). It is studded with a number of iron nails generally. After the deity has been worshipped the devotees are initiated, i.e. have the thread put on. They now return to the temple. Dancing and drumming occurs on both journeys.

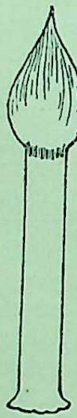

1

FIG. 1. Spear-like image of Bāneśwar, Birbhum.

The next day the Bhaktas fast. In the evening they proceed to the tank, carrying Bāneśwar, to bathe him and also themselves. The deity is now taken back to the temple of Dharma, with the usual drumming and dancing. At night only fruits and milk are taken. On the third day, in the afternoon, the deity Dharma is placed on a wooden *dolā* (shaped partly like a throne, but carried on shoulders), and this is placed on a ceremonially cleansed piece of ground before the Dharma shed (temple). Beginning from the door, but north of it, the devotees lie down head to east on their face, the feet pointing west. The Debāṃsi puts on a new *gāmchā* as a *pugree* (turban) and takes up one deity at a time on his head if there are several Dharmas in the temple and walks on the bodies of the devotees and comes back also in the same way. At Labhpur, I noted seven deities but was able to obtain the names of only four. These were: (*a*) Dharmarāj, (*b*) Dāmodar, (*c*) Khijurāi, (*d*) Bilweśwar. When this ceremony is over, the deities are put on the *dolā* and carried by the devotees round the village and finally to the tank. At the *ghāt* (bathing place or getting in place), the deities are put in a small bamboo basket of the type known as *dhucuni*, brought by a Dom (basket-weaver) of a family enjoying the hereditary right to do this duty. The basket must be woven by a woman who is living with her first married husband. The Dom gets two seers and a half of rice (parboiled and husked, not *ātap*) for his services. Now a devotee of a particular family goes into the tank with the basket, until the water rises to his chest. In Labhpur, this duty was formerly performed by a Sundi family. But that family is now extinct and the prerogative has passed to a goldsmith family. The other devotees now pour milk and water (sacred water) on the deity. An earthen pot (*kalsi*—narrow-necked vessel) is held under the deities and the water is caught in it. It is then filled up with tank water if not quite full and taken with a twig of mango on it. The deities are then bathed and taken back to the temple. The prescribed mantras are uttered, *āsan śuddhi* and other rites are performed and ceremonial offerings are made of rice and other food as laid down in the sacred texts of Dharma.

This is followed by *hindol sevā* or *dhunābān*. Wood of *pākuḍ* (*Ficus infectoria*, Roxb.), *bael* (*Aegle marmosa*) or *śāl* (*Shorea robusta*) are heaped in a small hole below a swinging platform exactly similar to that described for Caḍak and the ceremony is also the same. The platform is erected in front of the temple. In Labhpur, the Dharma deity is placed outside the temple on a *gāmchā* twisted into a circular coil. As incense is burnt on the fire below, the devotee swings backward and forward, head downwards over it. He takes flowers in his hands and swinging forward holds them over the incense and then offers the same to Dharma. Early next morning, i.e. on the full-moon day, a big fire is built up of the logs, so that embers form quickly. Worship is now done to Dharma, the embers spread with cane and the Bhaktas dance on the embers until the fire is put out. Arrangements are now made for a *homa* (sacred fire offerings) ceremony by a Brāhmaṇ.

In the meanwhile each Bhakta fills an earthen pot with water at the tank and takes it to the house of a Sunḍi (wine-distiller by caste). Here each man puts a few drops of newly distilled wine from a new pot into his vessel. This is called *bhānḍār bhorā* or 'filling the pot' (really 'larder' or 'store'). The Debāṃsi now offers worship to these pots at the Sunḍi's place. The devotees now proceed dancing round the village and finally return to the place of the Dharma deity. By this time the Brāhmaṇ priest will have finished his *homa* ceremony. A he-goat is now sacrificed in places where this is customary. The devotees now break their fast. On this night, as on preceding nights, songs of Dharma usually from the Maṅgala books are sung, with dance and a certain amount of dramatizing. Next morning the 'sacred thread' is taken off and the whole ceremony is over.

At Labhpur, I noted two wooden horses inside the temple. The smaller horse is carried by devotees on shoulder when the deity Bāneśwar is taken out. When Dharma is taken out and bathed, the deity Bāneśwar and both the horses are also carried out and bathed. In the village of Bhastar, several miles from this place, the devotees still pierce their sides and tongues with iron spears. This is, however, not done at Labhpur or other villages in the neighbourhood. This piercing ceremony is performed on the morning of the full-moon day, as described later.

In 24-Parganas, the ceremony is now very much attenuated as noted before. The only feature that has remained is the bathing of the deity, and placing it in a *dhucuni* as elsewhere. The *dhucuni* has certain designs on it drawn in vermillion. A photo of it inside the temple of Dharma in Dhakuria is shown (Plate 3, Fig. 2).

In Midnapur, the ceremony known as *gṛhabharaṇa* in the Dharma Pūjā Paddhati (*ibid.*) is celebrated with pomp in many villages.[1] It is not an annual village festival, but is said to have been originally held at intervals of twelve years. There is now no hard and fast rule regarding the interval. It depends on the prosperity of the villages to a certain extent. Usually four years elapse between two celebrations. In the area, where the writer observed the ceremony, the different groups of villages hold this festival in different years, so that practically this celebration falls due every year in one or other of the group of villages which possess Dharma temples. In this ceremony it is the rule to have twelve men devotees and four women devotees. Nowadays it is difficult to get so many devotees. In the ceremony observed in 1939, there were only seven men and four women devotees. There must be a chief devotee termed *pāṭ* Bhakta, a *deul* Bhakta and a *koṭāl*, who are expected to be supplied by certain families. The *pāṭ* Bhakta in Birsinha village has to be furnished by the Guṭi family of Sadgope caste. But they do not any longer discharge this religious duty. The elders are either in official service or in the professions followed by educated men in this country. The boys are students in school or college. In 1939, a villager of the same caste was persuaded to act as substitute on behalf of the family in lieu of payments made out of the general fund raised by subscription. The *deul* Bhakta comes from another educated Sadgope family, of surname

---

[1] See also Appendix to Mayurbhaṭṭa's Śrī Dharma Purāṇa (edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay) for a description of *grahabaran* obtained from a priest in Bankura District.

Pānja, of an adjacent village (Mahmudpur). Here also a substitute is offered at present. When the *deul* Bhakta is initiated, he goes to a clump of bamboos and calling on Dharma and worshipping a bamboo, cuts it. He now returns to the *maṇḍap* with this bamboo known as '*ālam bā̃s*' and, when a red cloth pennant has been fitted to the top, fixes it in the ground by the shed. The *koṭāl* is a villager of Dolui caste. The *dhāmātkarṇi* is a Brāhmaṇ by caste. A Brāhmaṇ priest (*grahavipra*) performed those rites which require the services of a Brāhmaṇ as noted before. The Dom Paṇḍit performed the rest of the ceremony. The principal Dom priest was assisted by his brother. The Nāpit (barber) looked after the dressing of fruits and arranging offerings, of lighting the fire for swinging and finally shaving the devotees. The songs of Dharma were sung (with dance and dramatic gestures) by Umapati Chakravarty, a Vyāsastha Brāhmaṇ, explained as one who serves Kaibarttas (fishing Kaibarttas).

In this village, the Dharma deity is of name Bānkurā Rāy, and is housed in a brick-built temple. The worship is not, however, celebrated in the temple, but in a *maṇḍap*, i.e. shed, put up to the north of it and facing south. In the temple originally there was Dharma and his Kāminyā. About two generations ago the Guṭi family discovered under earth an image of Kālī through a dream. They had this image placed by Dharma's side in the temple, to his left like a wife by her husband. There are other deities in the temple. They are: (*a*) eleven other Dharma images, (*b*) Śitalā, and (*c*) Manasā. There is also a horse of Dharma and the remnant of a chariot of Dharma. Daily worship is offered to these deities by the Dharma Paṇḍit.

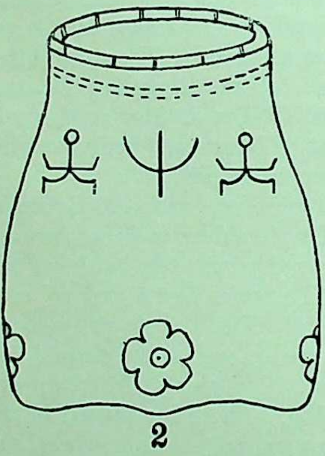
On the Akṣaytṛtīyā, the Paṇḍit proceeds with the Brāhmaṇ priest with the *ghaṭ*, i.e. earthen pitcher, to a deep tank on the outskirts of the village. No one is allowed to use this tank on this day or until the festival is over. The term 'ākāṭā pukur' used for such tanks means a natural pool. The priests are accompanied by villagers, some of whom dance and make displays of quarterstaff play, and by drummers. The *ghaṭ* is filled up and brought back to be put in the *maṇḍap*. There are placed in this pot the usual *pancaratna* or five precious metals and jewels, and the *pancapallava* or five kinds of twigs; also one *haritaki* (*Terminalia chebula*, Roxb.) nut. On the mouth of the pot is now placed an earthenware *sarā* (a concave plate). A seer of *ātap* rice is poured on it and on it is placed a green coconut. Some paddy and *durvā* grass (*Cynodon dactylon*) are put on it. Vermillion marks have already been made on the surface of the pot after daubing it with rice flower solution. It is now decorated with artificial lotus flowers. The Dharma deities in the temple are worshipped, and then the Kālī image. The deities are now installed in the *maṇḍap*. Usually an earthen platform is raised for the deities at the back, i.e. northern extremity of the shed. But a bamboo platform may also be made and covered with beaten earth. This was done at Birsinha. The arrangement of the deities (Plate 3, Fig. 1) was as follows, from west to east:—

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

(1) Manasā, (2) the other Dharmas, (3) the horse of Dharma, (4) image of Kālī, (5) Bānkurā Rāy, the principal Dharma deity, (6) a trident, to represent Bāneśwar (?), (7) Kāminyā of Dharma, (8) Śitalā, (9) the chariot of Dharma.

It is to be noted that at this festival, the intrusive deity Kālī was not placed to the left of Dharma.

A little in front of the deities was the *dhucuni* with the designs as indicated. The basket was of bamboo slips about half an inch wide, twilled in four right from the bottom. The base had four pointed corners. The top rim was strengthened by a strip of bamboo. The dotted lines shown represent vermillion marks. Five conventionalized human figures said to represent the five Kaśyapas are also drawn (with vermillion) with a trident between each pair. At the bottom are drawn images of the wheel of Dharma (*dharmacakra*) (Fig. 2). The basket was in front of the principal Dharma, who rested on a throne. When offering worship the priests sat facing east, i.e. sideways to the row of images.



2

FIG. 2. The basket, *dhucuni*, with drawings on it, used at *grahabaran*, Birsinha, Midnapur.

People may become Bhakta on the Akṣaytṛtīyā. This is the rule laid down in the book of procedure and was followed formerly. But nowadays in actual practice, devotees come only five days before full moon. They may also come seven or nine days before full moon. In any case, the would-be devotee abstains from flesh food and observes continence the day before his initiation. Next morning he bathes, listens to a recital of Dharma's glory, and is invested with 'sacred thread' with a kuśa root and copper ring tied to it and is given a bunch of five canes or one cane curved into a loop at top. Women devotees are known as Āmins. In this village at the time of initiation they put on a copper ring. It was reported by a priest that in some places 'Sacred thread' is put on women. In the published account[1] the women are stated to be invested exactly like men. The devotees now fast during the day time. At sunset they bathe, make an image of a female genital near the tank, call it Hara Gaurī (Śiva and his wife) and offer worship to Sūrya on it, with *jabā* flower (*Hibiscus rosasinensis*), milk, honey, ghee and *haritaki*. If other materials are lacking, only water may be offered. Then they come to the *maṇḍap*. To the south of this shed is an image of a female genital in stone, known as Hara Gaurī. Here again worship is done. The devotees now wait for the adoration of Dharma with lamps (*ārati*). When this is over they offer flowers to Dharma represented by two silver *pādukā* on a plate of copper or brass placed in front of the principal deity. On this are now placed also the canes of the devotees. They now circumambulate the *maṇḍap*. The two posts, which had been used for the *hindol* or fire-swing for the celebration of the ceremony in a former year and had been left in water thereafter, are taken out on Akṣaytṛtīyā and set up in a line north to south in front of the shed, a little to the west of the phallic image mentioned. Vermillion figures of men are drawn on the posts and oil and turmeric are rubbed at the base. This *hindol* frame is used for a swing over fire every night by the Bhaktas in this area after they have worshipped Dharma as described.

In the evening, the singer of the song of Dharma starts his dance, acting and song, with his assistants, a little after dusk, commencing from Akṣaytṛtīyā. Each night he recites a portion of the Dharmamaṅgala from one of the recognized versions, increasing the duration of it on successive evenings. On the twelfth, i.e. last, night it lasts the whole of the night. In the ceremony observed, the Paṇḍit at an interval of the song performed *ārati* with his lamps, with flowers and *cāmar* (yak tail). A conch shell was blown and bells and a gong sounded. The drums went on all the time any ceremony was performed. After the *ārati*, the devotees who had been resting in the shed shouted, 'We adore the feet of Dharma; we adore the feet of the old goddess Kali'. The Dom priest and his assistant prostrated themselves before these deities and then circumambulated the deities thrice, uttering mantras in Sanskrit. Next the priest recited Bengali verses referring to different deities and Paṇḍits being at different doors. The assistant repeated the verses after him. This is known as the *Kāhinī* or narrative. A portion of the recital was stated to be taken from Śūnya Purāṇa. The singer's version was said to be based on the Dharmamaṅgala of Ruparām.

The important rites commence from the third day prior to full moon. On the evening of this date the ceremony known as

---

[1] Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Mayurbhaṭṭa, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay. Calcutta, 1337 B.S. (= 1931 A.D.). (S.P. publication.) This account is based not on any old manuscript, but a modern revised version.

Muktaghar and *Muktacāl* is performed. As stated in the published account [1] the place from which the consort of Dharma has to be fetched is arranged beforehand. The correct form of the consort's name is *Muktā*, meaning pearls, and not *Mukti* meaning salvation as stated in the printed account. This term *Muktā* is used in the Śūnya Purāṇa (*ibid.*, p. 98) and the rice poured into the basket is also known as 'pearl'. The name of this paddy is stated to be *muktā hār* or row of pearls also in the published account. The orthodox procedure (as noted in the account from Bankura) is to carry the plate with the *pādukā* of Dharma with pomp to the residence of the consort. Here offerings are made of five seers of rice as stated. The party now return to the *maṇḍap*, the Paṇḍit reciting the *Kāhinī* about coming of *Muktā* and the origin of paddy. Certain figures are, however, drawn and a basket is used to hold the rice—not a pot as stated in the account. The additional details are noted below. In Birsinha, the usual custom was that this rite was performed at the house of a villager of the hamlet of Pāthrā who offered the rice for this ceremony. But owing to a quarrel between villagers, the Pāthrā people refused to join the celebration in 1939. They had it separately on an humble scale. As the expenses of the rite are not very small—about rupees seven—no other villager volunteered to take up this function. In order to get over the difficulty, it was decided by the villagers that the expenses should be met from the general fund created by subscriptions raised in the village. But in such a case no villager can claim the honour of having the rite performed in his house. So it was carried out in the temple (not the shed) as representing the village. The *pādukā* of Dharma was taken there; but afterwards a visit was paid to all the houses in the village as all had contributed to the expenses.

The *Muktaghar* was made as follows. Five kinds of coloured powders were first prepared of pounded *ātap* rice, mixed with (i) turmeric for yellow, (ii) vermillion for red, (iii) leaf juice for green, (iv) charcoal for black, and (v) the base as such for white. A lotus-like figure *a* was drawn with these powders, and a central heap *b* made to represent the tortoise shape of Dharma. First white, next yellow, then black red and finally the green powder is used to make these outlines. The figures *c*, *d*, *e* are drawn with vermillion (mixed with a little mustard oil), and the drawings *f f* are made with *ābir* powder (red powder used for holi festival). The wide rectangular figures *f f* were said to represent Ballukā and Cāpāi rivers. The conventionalized human figure *d* is Setāi Paṇḍit, whose name always comes first in the reference to Paṇḍits in the Śūnya Purāṇa. The figure *e* is of the *cakra* of Dharma, while *c* represents the seat of worship of the nine *grahas* or planets (Fig. 3).

---

[1] Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Mayurbhaṭṭa.

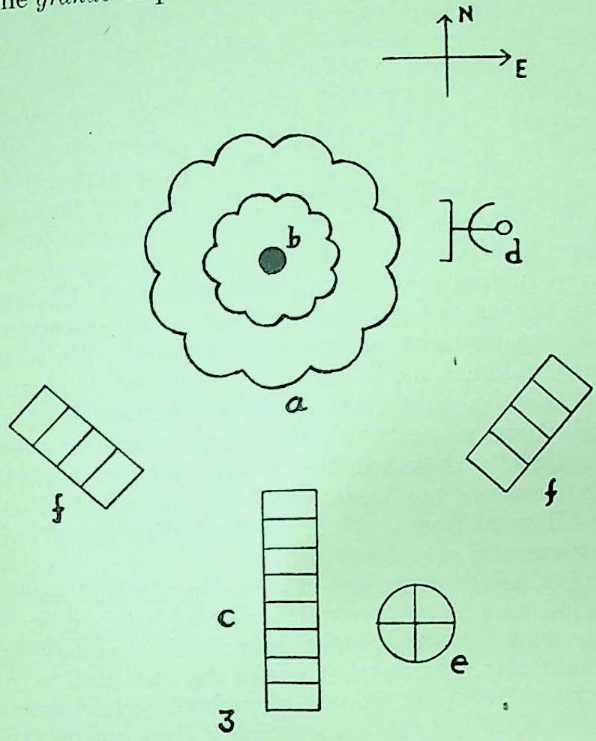


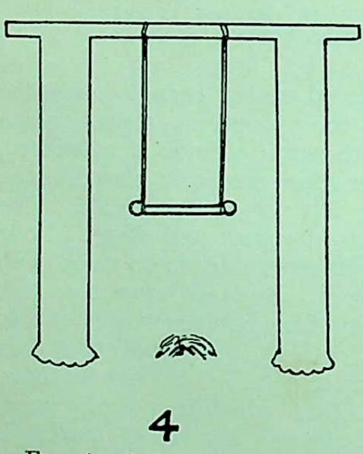
FIG. 3 *Muktaghar*, Birsinha.

The basket (*dhucuni*) was placed on the heap *b* inside the figure *a*. In front of it, on *e* was placed a copper plate (*thālā*) with a strip of *celi* (red cloth worn by bride at marriage). *Pancaratna* (five precious metals or gems) should be placed in the basket. Owing to lack of funds, this was not available. The deficiency was partly met by coins of copper and silver. Four reeds (such as grow in swamps or by rivers) are to be stuck, two on each of the diagram of the rivers. No reeds grow near this village. Their place was taken by four bamboo twigs cut to size and fixed on small mounds of clay. The top ends were cleft and in each was inserted a strip of palm leaf cut like feathers. The sticks are now known as 'śar kāthi' which may mean arrow shafts as well as reeds. Thread spun on the wheel (*carkā*) is tied to a reed and taken thrice round the whole group.

Five seers of *ātap* rice are now placed in the basket along with a coconut, plantain, *haritaki*, areca nut and two varieties of cardamom. A tinsel lotus garland is put on it, as also a bridal red cloth. The Dom priest utters incantations in Sanskrit and offers flower and water accompanied by ringing of the hand-bell.

The *Kāhinī* is now recited and *ārati* performed. Drummers drummed a special beat. The Bhaktas (seven men and four women) now held canes to form a ring, each holding the end of the cane of the next devotee. Inside this ring stood the chief devotee with the *dhucuni* on his head. Another devotee led the Loue goat. In this fashion the devotees went round the village. On their return, the basket was placed in the *maṇḍap*, in front of Dharma, but a little to the left. The copper plate with *celi* was also put down and on it were placed the canes by the Bhaktas as they returned after bathing to offer flowers to the deities. A plate of *ātap* rice with a green mango on top, lotus flowers, and *bael* leaves were offered to Sūrya, Dharma, Kālī Kāminyā, the Paṇḍits and other deities in accordance to the orthodox procedure, the incantations being in Sanskrit. While the *pāṭ* Bhakta was making his offerings, the others sat on small bundles of straw (about a cubit long and two inches diameter). At about this time a party of mummers came dressed up as Muhammadans, with beard and *loongi* (striped loin-cloth, not tucked in between the legs), carrying an imitation *tājiā* and shouting 'Hassen Hossain'. A spirited display of sword and stick play was also given.

Worship being over, the devotees performed sevā, i.e. lay down at full length, got up and lay down again after stepping forward to where the head had reached. In this way they went round the *maṇḍap*. Formerly some of the men used to roll round this circuit. This is not done nowadays. Having completed a circuit they got up and offered flowers to the stone genital known as Hara Gaurī. At this time the copper plate with canes by the Dharma *pādukā* rested on this structure, a little to its side. A fire was now lighted under the *hindol* posts in a hole of size one foot square and six inches deep. Mango wood (any flower wood will do I was told) was burnt, and the fire poked to make it blaze up. A *gāmchā* (body-cloth and towel) was held by the hand, as high as possible, to the west of the trapeze-like structure for *hindol* (Fig. 4). A loop was tied to the bar of the trapeze and all the devotees put up their canes to rest the end on it. The copper plate was placed to the east of the fireplace. The Dom priest now uttered a long list of names of the deities, the Paṇḍits



4

FIG. 4. Swinging post for *Hindol*, with trapeze like arrangement.

and also holy places. At each pause after a name the Bhaktas (only men) cried 'We bow to Dharmarāj'. All the devotees now put their canes back on the copper plate. The *pāṭ* Bhakta now inserted his feet in the loop and swung head downwards, facing west. The minimum number of swings is three, but I did not find any devotee content with it. One man swung seventy-five times, remaining head downwards, for over fifteen minutes. The record, I was told, is held by a former devotee who had swung thus for a full hour measured by a watch. While the swinging was going on, 'Kavilarāi' or 'tarjā' commenced. In this display, two parties described various things and events, in verse, each trying to surpass the other. Satires and criticisms of village notables and of current events were also included.

After the fire-swing, the Bhaktas broke their fast by taking first of all a flower from the place of worship. It was followed by fruits and milk.

A reference has been made to the Loue goat in the previous description. It is a male kid, now full grown, which had been dedicated to Dharma and liberated at the end of the previous festival. An iron ring is fitted at that time to the left foreleg. This goat wanders about freely, grazing at will, unmolested by any one for the entire period of several years' interval until the next ceremony occurs. The Loue is caught and kept tied at the southern extremity of the *maṇḍap* from the first day usually. It is bathed and conveyed in a procession with drumming and dancing by the Bhaktas (Plate 4, Fig. 5). If, however, the Bhaktas are initiated late, the Loue may be brought at that time. A small kid, known as Kol Loue, is also kept tied by the side of Loue. The goats must be completely black, without any white hair. Both these goats are sacrificed to Dharma on the day after the full moon, and certain rites, described hereafter, are performed with the head. A woman devotee has to perform those rites and bear the expenses. They are carried out for the birth of a son. In view of the expenses and the poverty of the villagers, there was some difficulty in 1939 in getting a woman to act as 'mother' to the Loue as this devotee is termed. In the old days women would beg for this honour and many were disappointed. A son was said to be born if the rites were correctly performed (leaving an ample loophole in case of disappointment). The name given to the son was Luidhar, Lāusen or the like. The son of the king Hariścandra of the Dharmamaṅgalas was named Luicandra, while the son of Rañjāvatī was known as Lāusen. The names suggest that the Loue rite was performed in both cases. Śrī Jogeś Rāy (*S.P.P.*, Vol. 38) has suggested the derivation of the term from *Lauha*, meaning iron. According to him, the form Lāusen is a corruption of *Lauhasen*, and Luidhar of *Lauhadhar*. A boy who has lost an elder brother is sometimes made to wear an iron anklet after worshipping Dharma on a Saturday. According to Śrī Jogeś Rāy, the boy may be compared to the Loue goat. He is also known as Loue and is given a name of that type. Whether the original derivation of the term Loue from Lauha is correct or not, the boy is named after the sacrificial animal. The people who join the rite say that the name is given as the son has been obtained by taking Loue on the lap.

The derivation of the name Lui or Loué from iron has been objected to by Śrī Basanta Chattopadhyay in his introduction to Anādimaṅgala.[1] It is stated by him that the ancient practice was to place a copper anklet on the foreleg of the goat, and that this is done even now in many places. No authority is, however, quoted or place-names noted by him. It is, however, pointed out by him that the term Lauha, which now means iron, originally described a metal of red colour, i.e. copper, in the ancient Sanskrit works, quoting numerous references. As the sacred metal of Dharma is copper without doubt, the earlier practice was probably to use a copper anklet. The symbol of initiation even now is the copper ring and armlet. I may note, however, that iron has now at any rate come to be recognized as the proper metal for use in dedicating the goat and marking the child. It appears to me that the sacrifice of Rohitāśva in the story of Hariścandra, the similarity of the mode of placing Dharma's mark on the goat and the child, and the names of the two suggest that the Loue was originally a human sacrifice. This point is discussed later.

In 1939, a woman agreed to act as mother of the Loue of Birsinha only on the evening before the full moon. As she came from a distant village, she was able to reach the place of worship very late. Her husband bathed and offered flowers to Dharma and was then invested with the sacred thread like other Bhaktas. At sunrise, the woman and her husband were formally fetched by the Paṇḍit priest and Bhaktas to the accompaniment of drumming and with a good deal of rejoicing. The woman was initiated after the midday worship, as described hereafter.

On the morning of the full-moon day, the Bhaktas formed a procession, without taking either the basket or the deities. The blacksmith who was to decapitate the Loue went with the procession with his Khā̃ḍā or curved sword. Drummers accompanied them; so did the mummers who had dressed up as Muhammadans. A few also went dressed up as village women. The procession went first to the village Pārule, then to the village Māḍ and finally returned by way of Mahmudpur. At Māḍ they have a Dharma temple, and their *grahabaran* was celebrated in the previous year. They came in a procession to Birsinha on that occasion. This was the return visit. At Māḍ the visitors were offered refreshments. They halted there a little while and then left for the next village. To illustrate the cycle of Dharma worship in this area I may note that another *grahabaran* of the deity known as Jātrā-siddhi-rāi was celebrated at Udayganj, only two miles away, in 1940.

---

[1] Anādimaṅgala bā Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Kabi Rāmdās Ādak, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay. Calcutta, 1345 B.S. (= 1939 A.D.). (S.P. publication.)

A little after midday, a Śrotriya Rārhi Brāhmaṇ worshipped Dharma. The offerings were made to 'Kāminīsahita Bānkuḍā rāyākhya dharma niranjanāya', i.e. to Dharma along with his Kāminī or consort. The pūjā was being offered on behalf of a villager of position. On previous days such worship had been offered on behalf of the landlord (zamindar) and the village notables.

By the time the worship was over, the processionists had returned from their round of the villages. They now circumambulated the *maṇḍap* thrice, dancing and drumming. The Bhaktas now entered the shed and fell flat on their face, bowing to Dharma and Kālī. A little later flowers were placed on the head of Kālī and this deity was invoked to signify her assent to the tongue-piercing rite with the Hākaṇḍa spear. The flower fell after a time and was acclaimed with shouts of joy.

The woman, who had come to this village to act as Loue's mother, had kept on vegetarian diet with her husband on the preceding day. This day both had fasted. The Paṇḍit now put the copper ring on the middle finger of the right hand of the woman in the name of Dharma. The priests, I noted, had their rings on the index finger. At sunset, the Bhaktas and this woman set out for the so-called 'bath of purification', more correctly the 'bathing of the pearls'. The woman carried the *dhucuni* with rice in it on her head. The *deul* Bhakta was carrying the *ālam* bamboo. The other Bhaktas formed an enclosure with their canes and in this way went to the tank to bathe. The *ālam* bamboo was fixed in the mud, in water, and the woman now waded in with the basket on her head. The Paṇḍit stepped into the water and recited the portion of the narrative referring to this bath. Then he rang a bell with his left hand, and with a copper *kuśi* (spoon-like implement used in worship) poured water thrice into the basket, through the cover of red cloth on its top. The woman now sank down until she and the basket on her head were completely immersed. In wet clothes the party now came back in the same arrangement as before and went round the shed, the priest reciting the verse about Queen Madanā having had a son by Dharma worship. The basket was not restored to the side of Dharma but now placed in the temple on the spot where the *muktāghar* had been drawn the previous day. The devotees now bowed to Dharma and placed the Hākaṇḍa spears, three in number, on the platform before Dharma. The priest performed *ārati* and then he and his assistant recited the narrative regarding 'worship with flowers after plucking flowers'; the appearance of worshippers at different doors and finally of different kings and sages who had worshipped Dharma. At the end of the recital, some cotton thread spun on *carkā* was dyed with turmeric and short lengths cut off to tie on wrists of devotees. Each bit had a bunch of *durbā* grass tied at its centre with a knot. This thread is known as 'birbal' and is tied to the right wrist of each devotee starting with the *pāṭ* Bhakta. As this was done each devotee shouted in his turn, 'We offer worship to the feet of Dharmarāj, oh Dharmarāj'.

The Bhaktas were now ready for cutting the *gāmār* branch. A brass plate containing *ātap* rice, the copper *kośā*, *kuśi* (boat-shaped pots used in offering water in worship), and a curved knife, the Kāṭāri, was taken up by the priest. The *deul* Bhakta went carrying the *ālam* bamboo. Arrived at the *gāmār* tree, the priest tied a 'birbal' thread to the tree and another to the branch to be cut. Next a human figure was drawn with vermillion at the base of the tree on its trunk. Resin and turmeric were rubbed on it and a watery solution of a particular kind of nut known as 'ābāṭa' poured on it. Flowers were now offered. Then the priest placed the Kāṭāri against it, touched the knife with vermillion and offered flowers. The Panḍit (priest) now recited the verses describing the cutting of *gāmār*, and then reciting the Sanskrit incantations touched the base of the tree thrice with the knife. Now the chief devotee touched the tree with his chest once on each side and cried 'Victory to Dharmarāj, victory to Kālī'; then he invoked Biśwakarmā, the divine artificer and taking up the Kāṭāri cut off the branch at one stroke. The branch was narrow and was steadied with the left hand while cutting it, so that it would not fall to the ground. It was transferred immediately to the head of the chief devotee and brought to the shed with drumming and dancing. The branch was placed behind the deities, after going round the shed. In the old days, a thick branch would be cut and made over to the blacksmith for cutting it into short lengths to stud with sharp iron nails. These were pressed against the chest by the devotees next morning when other such rites were performed. Nowadays it is not performed in this area. The narrative about it was, however, fully recited by the priest.

After placing the *gāmār* branch behind Dharma, the devotees bowed to the deity at full length and proceeded to the cremation ground to collect half-burnt logs left over from funeral pyres. These logs were heaped up at some distance from the fire-swing place. The devotees now bathed, offered worship and swung over fire. Strictly speaking, the logs collected should be fired and a dance over the embers performed by the Bhaktas as at a Caḍak festival. This part of the ceremony was omitted in this village.

Six iron spears known as '*bān*' were brought from the village Boalia, a mile and a half away, by the devotees of that place who generally perform the tongue-piercing there. These were now placed against a pillar in front of the deities, and the head of each weapon was smeared with vermillion. Very late that night (early next morning according to the European way of counting the day), the final rites for the piercing ceremony were arranged. A human figure was drawn with *ātap* rice, measuring nine poās (poā = half pound), to represent Lāusen who had offered his nine limbs to Dharma. Nine areca nuts were placed on the figure, two on feet, two on hands, two on sides, two more on body and one on tongue (head). Near the upper extremity of the figure was a tripod of bamboo sticks, each six inches long, crossing at top. On it was placed a white round lump and a wick of cotton impregnated with clarified butter. It was said to represent the head of Lāusen. Nine betel leaves and nine copper coins were placed on one side. The figure lay head to the north. The earthen pot for the head of the goat to be decapitated was now made ready. It was a big earthen cooking vessel known as *hā̃ḍi*. The outer surface was daubed with rice-flour solution. The Paṇḍit drew with vermillion mystic syllables like *hrī* and also certain figures and diagrams. Thus he drew human figures to represent the Kaśyaps and the Paṇḍits; the Kūrma was also drawn, as well as the lotus. A narrow rectangle with nine divisions was also drawn for the nine *grahas*. Similar figures were also drawn inside the pot.

The singer of Dharmāyaṇa now sang of Lāusen's offer of his own body in nine parts, to Dharma. As he mentioned the offering of a limb, the singer gave a demonstration by cutting off that limb of the rice figure of Lāusen with an iron knife. When the nine divisions had been made, the 'body' was covered with a red *gāmchā* and the lamp on the conventional head lighted. A rectangular pit was now dug east to west, to the south of the *maṇḍap*. It was about 6′ long, 3′ wide and a foot deep. Three compartments were made, one for each of the devotees who were going to perform the Hā-kaṇḍa piercing, to emulate Lāusen. Actually, it may be noted only one spear was used—to pierce the tongue—and not nine, all over the body. The Paṇḍit now sat by the pit facing east and uttered mantras and offered flowers. A lamp was placed in the pit, and after worship with rice offerings, and fruit, the priest and his assistant went round it thrice in counter clockwise fashion (west to north) ringing a bell, blowing a conch shell and sprinkling water. The three devotees who are the hereditary performers of the tongue piercing rite in this village, now appeared before Dharma. Each should be given a garland of Ākanda flowers (*Calotropis Gigantea*) but in its absence were given Kṛṣṇacur flowers (*Poinciana Regiaboi*). Then the blacksmith, also a herditary functionary, pulled out the tongue of the devotee in whose name the flower had been offered for performing this rite. After rubbing the tongue with a piece of clean cloth, he pierced it from below upwards, a little to the left of the centre, with a clean and polished barbed arrow head of iron, termed *Kālbooth* (Fig. 5). The arrow was pushed through. The Paṇḍit now handed to him his *bān* or spear which was a trident, with three small lamps fixed to the head [Figs. 6 and 6(*a*)]. He put a little clarified butter in these lamps, a plantain on the central point, and two garlands, one of flowers and one of pith, near the cross-bar. The devotee gently pushed the pointed butt of the trident through the pierced tongue, and holding the weapon vertically, started moving it up and down. Unless this is done, the blood will coagulate and the spear get stuck in the wound. Each of the three devotees performed this rite and then they went to the pit termed Hākaṇḍa pit, and sat on the plantain leaves facing Dharma. At the same time the hereditary performers of this rite from other villages who were not entitled to sit in the Hākaṇḍa pit here, had their tongue pierced, outside the *maṇḍap*, and pushed through the wound their spears previously mentioned as placed before Dharma. The diameter of the spears (simple metallic spears) were a little over one-fourth of an inch; the length varied from six to twelve feet.

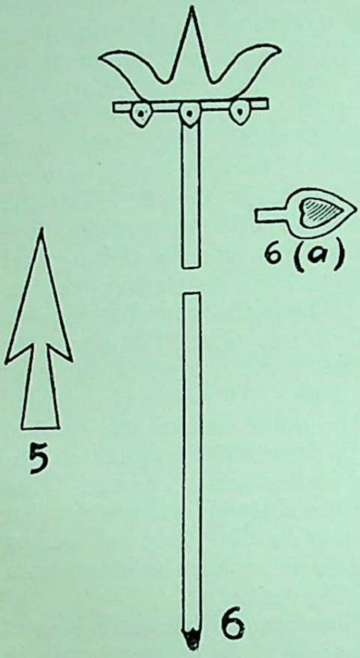


FIG. 5. Arrow-head, known as *Kalbooth.*
FIG. 6. Trident with lamps for passing through the tongue.
FIG. 6(*a*). Lamp with neck, for attachment to the trident.

The tongues were pierced at half past four at night according to the Indian way of counting hours of the night, about half an hour before it became light. As the sky became light and the first streaks of dawn appeared, the priest fired a bundle of straw to the west of the pit. The Bhaktas faced west when this was done. It symbolized 'sunrise in the west' which Lāusen caused to take place by his offerings to Dharma. The drummers now drummed vigorously to a special timing, and the bleeding devotees got up and started dancing. They went round the *maṇḍap* thrice and entered the shed, to take out the spear. The unofficial devotees took off the spears in front of the temple. The smith rubbed the wounded tongue with a little clarified butter. Next the priest gives them the *bael* leaves of worship to chew. This was quickly followed by betel leaves dressed in the usual way with lime, catechu and areca nut.

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

Although the wound had been rubbed raw for over an hour with the spears, the devotees spoke normally in a few minutes, and come out to dance for some time more.

Another ceremony was performed the previous evening, after the bathing of the basket of muktā rice. With a preliminary worship of the deities drawn, the Pandit made the 'ghar' or house of Dharma known as *melghar* and referred to in the summary of Śūnya Purāṇa. He used white powder of rice, red *ābir*, mica, black *mung kalāi* (*Phaseolus radiatus*, Linn.) powder and yellowish red powder of *khāṇri musur* (*Lens esculenta*, Monch). First he drew with the powder of rice, the feet of Dharma. Enclosing the feet of Dharma was the circle of the lotus or more probably the tortoise. Round it were seven petals of lotus, drawn in red. The circular figure round the lotus is of Nāga Bāsuki. The head is inside the tail, signifying a peaceful attitude. The outer enclosure represents the house, with four gates. The human figures at the gates are the four Paṇḍits Setāi, Nilāi, Kā̃sāi and Ramāi. The human figures at the corners are of women, the four devotees. After drawing the 'house', the Paṇḍit offered worship to Dharma

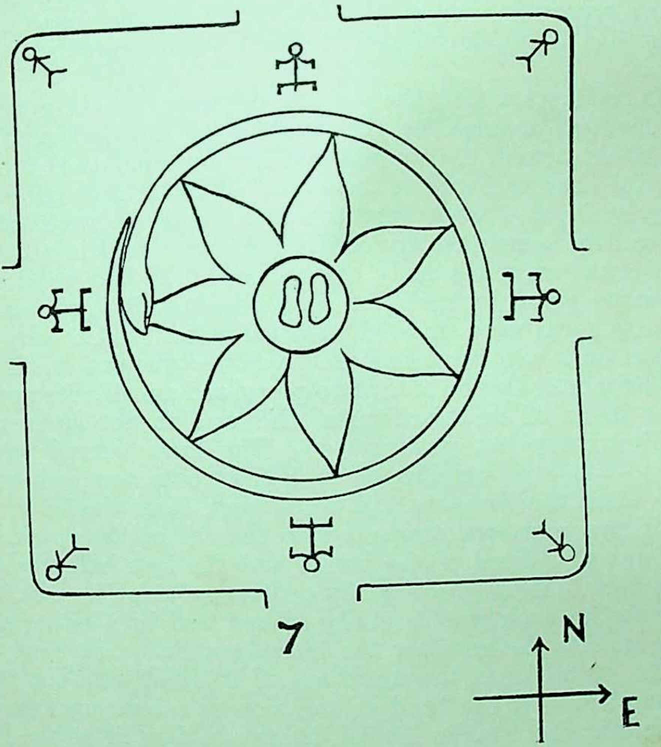


FIG. 7. *Melghar* of Dharma, Birsinha.

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

with sixteen requisites (*ṣoraśopacār*) as it is termed; and adored the other deities. It was next covered up with a cloth and the door kept closed. In the published account it is stated that this 'house' is shown after the decapitation of the goat. But in this village it was done before this sacrifice. According to the published account the Loue is decapitated on the full-moon day. Here it was stated very definitely that it is not sacrificed in any village in the neighbourhood on that day. The sacrifice takes place (as it did on this occasion) the day after full moon. It was even urged by a Brāhmaṇ of the *grahavipra* caste that this was really not a part of the 'twelve days' rite' or *bāramati* as it is called. But this view is untenable as the details will show. The published account agrees with what I saw, in that the 'house' of Dharma is viewed on full-moon day. First of all the representative of the family of the headman of the village has to be shown this 'house'. Afterwards others can view it.

Next day, i.e. after the piercing ceremony has been finished, the devotees arrange for the sacrifice of the dedicated goat. The Bhaktas with the woman and her husband take the Loue and Kol Loue to bathe in the tank. Five turmeric pieces, five cowry shells, five areca nuts, two and a half chattacks of *ātap* rice and the same quantity of *biri kalāi* were tied in a turmeric dyed cloth round the body of the Loue. It had an iron bell suspended round its neck and four iron bracelets, one on each leg. Its horns were smeared with vermillion and a body cloth was put on it with incantations. A flower was put on the head of Kālī for decapitation of the two goats, and another for approval of the name of the blacksmith who was to act as sacrificer. The Srotriya priest was present. The huge curved sword—Khā̃ṛā—was also worshipped and the goats touched with it thrice when the devotees had come back from the bath. The Paṇḍit now muttered mantras into the ear of the goats. The Loue was now freed of the bonds and the iron bell was taken off its neck. It was soothed by gently stroking its back. The hair near its neck was carefully parted and *bael* leaves placed before it. As the goat ate the leaves and in an interval stood straight, on all fours, the smith cut off its head with one stroke. A failure to sever the head at one blow is a bad omen and the blacksmith who bungles his job is sure to fare ill at the hands of the devotees and spectators. Next the Kol Loue was also thus decapitated.

The head of the Loue was now placed in the earthen-pot kept ready for it. It is known as jāghā̃ṇḍi. The head should have in its mouth five fruits and the *pancaratna*. Actually it had there—a plantain, a cardamom (*Ellettaria Cardamomom*), the bigger cardamom (*Amomum Aromaticum*), areca nut, and a nutmeg; also a silver coin, a copper coin and a piece of gold. A chain of iron was also placed in the pot. On the lid was placed an earthen lamp with mustard oil and cotton wick. This was lit when the head was put inside the pot. It represented the life of the Loue. The pot so prepared by the Paṇḍit was then made over to the 'mother' who sat with it on her lap. The iron bracelet on the foreleg of the Loue will be put on her son's wrist and the iron bell given to him as his plaything.

The head of the Kol Loue was placed before Kālī and a wick lighted with clarified butter, on an earthen lamp on its head. The Śrotriya Brāhmaṇ took some of the blood of the goat collected in an earthen pot and mixed it with a little wine and sweets. While this was done, a *gāmchā* was held up between him and the assembled people, to represent secrecy. The mixture was offered to Kālī and finally ārati performed. The Paṇḍits took no part in this rite. When however it was finished, the Śrotriya Brāhmaṇ and the Paṇḍits dipped a finger in the messy mixture and drew a line from glabella upwards on their forehead, and on that of honoured guests and notables present.

A little later, a *homa* was performed by the Śrotriya Brāhmaṇ on behalf of the 'mother of Loue' at her expense. After *pūrṇāhuti*, i.e. the final full offerings, a plantain was made over to the woman as the 'fruit of her worship'. The woman should have been conducted immediately to the *melghar*. But there was some delay, the reason for which was not apparent. She was eventually conducted in the evening to the temple room where there was the *melghar*, the Paṇḍit reciting in sing-song fashion the narrative about the resuscitation of Lui. The woman sat inside the room, to the west of the designs, facing east, the light burning all the time on the pot with the head inside. The husband and the Paṇḍits remained outside the door. As the night ended and day began to dawn, the woman asked, 'Bābā Loue, have you awakened?' The form of address was that used towards a son in endearment. The head responds, it is said, by waving its ears so that they strike the head, and the sides of the pot with a tapping sound.

Later in the morning occurs the turmeric rubbing ceremony. The *Nāpit* first of all shaves the Brāhmaṇ priest and then the Paṇḍits and finally the men devotees. Only the moustaches and beards are shaved. For women, the nails are pared. Some turmeric paste is prepared by the devotees and mixed with a little mustard oil. They put a little of it at the feet of high caste Brāhmaṇs, symbolizing turmeric rubbing on the body, and next proceed to do the same for other village notables. After this is done, they rub each other and villagers in general thoroughly with turmeric and oil.

A *māgur* fish (*Clarias Batrachus*, Linn.) is now released in the *melghar* and destroys the design by its wriggling. It is then caught and carried by a devotee. The woman now puts the Loue pot on her head, the lighted lamp protected by the inverted *dhucuni* which had been emptied of its contents in drawing the designs Plate 3, fig. 3. The priests carry the four arrows shafts, flowers, etc., from the place of worship. The *Deul* Bhakta carried the *ālam* bamboo, while the other devotees form a ring. The party thus proceeds to the tank by the side of which cremations take place in this village. The priests now chant the story of Madanā wife of Hariścandra who worshipped the deity Dharma for a son. Arrived at the western bank of the tank, the pot is put on the ground, in the soft earth at the water's edge and the Paṇdit recites a summary of the whole Dharmamaṅgala.—'At first Setāi Paṇdit in Satya Yuga worshipped Dharma; next came Nilāi in Tretā Yuga. The Pāṇḍava King Yudhiṣṭhir worshipped Dharma in Dwāparā Yuga; so did Kānsāi Paṇḍit. In the present Kali age it was taken up by Ramāi. Hariścandra sacrificed his son to Dharma; and Rañjāvati was born through the curse of the deity. She married Karṇasen and being childless fell on the *śāl* or spear studded plank. The son thus obtained, Lāusen, spread the worship of Dharma, himself performing the "sunrise in the west sacrifice".' All this time the woman and her husband had been seated facing east; they now began to turn the pot round and round. The lid was taken off, and the fruits, and precious metals taken out of the goat's mouth, leaving only the iron chain inside. The pot was now packed with clay apparently to make it heavy enough to sink. Care was taken to leave the ear, mouth, eye, and head uncovered. Now the lamp was put on the head, facing east, and the lid closed quickly while the light was still burning. The lid was now fixed by a pair of bamboo sticks crossing at the centre of the lid, and tied to the neck of the pot. The devotees had by this time entered the water and fixed the *ālam* bamboo in the mud. The *māgur* fish was now released, still alive, in the water. The woman now waded into the water and with the pot on her head, dipped down and let it go (Plate 4, fig. 4). After letting go the pot, the woman groped in the mud with her hand, under water. Whatever she finds is considered to have come miraculously. She swallows it secretly, with water from the green coconut from the *ghat* or sacred earthen pot. She has also to eat the fruit (plantain) that was given to her by the Brāhmaṇ priest as mentioned before. Both these rites are claimed to give her the son, i.e. cause her to conceive.

On return, the he-goat intended for the next ceremony is bathed, and in the name of Dharma, reciting the narrative of Hariścandra, an iron ring is put on its right foreleg, after smearing vermillion on its horns. It will graze at will, unmolested, for the next few years. The tale of origin of goats is also recited at the time of initiation of the goat as well as at the time of sacrifice. The Bhaktas offer flower to the deity in the *maṇḍap*, for the last time; then they and the Paṇdits take off the 'sacred thread' saying that they go back to their own caste gotra, leaving the Dharma gotra.

The carcasses of the goats which had been lying so long in the *maṇḍap* were now dressed for cooking. The head of the Koḷ Loue had however been disposed of previously, by sending it to the house of the Deul Bhakta. The flesh of the two goats was cooked with rice in the compound of the place of worship by the Dharma Paṇḍits, who alone and male agnates can eat it. In the published account it is stated that the devotees share it. But this was contradicted by priests, devotees, and villagers in the area where I observed the festival.

The correct procedure is to serve the cooked food in bamboo basketry vessels—such as *ṭhekā* or *dālā*, *peṭe*, and *pāli*, woven by Doms. This is done even now in the village Māṛ and elsewhere. In Birsinha, the old priest died some years ago, and the young man who is officially in charge admitted that he served the food, on copper or brass plates. Stoneware was also used. The rice has to be taken out by a small newly made iron hoe nine times, and put on these baskets for offering to Dharma. (It is possible that the well-known nursery rhyme in Bengali mentioning the use of the hoe in taking rice out of the cooking pot, refers to this practice.) The rest of the food is served with the hand. The dedicated and other food is all eaten by Paṇḍits. Anything left over is buried in the ground. The cooking pots for the deity and the devotees during the entire period of twelve days are disposed of in water. The sacred earthen pot is also similarly disposed on the last day.

The deities are now taken back to their temple and the usual daily worship performed.

Two other rites connected with the worship of Dharma deserve notice. A car festival similar to that of the great god Jagannath is elebrated in many temples. The date varies. At Udaiganj it falls on Rāmnavami. On the last day of Bhādra (Aug.-Sept.) a rite known as *muktasnān* is performed. Those who have made a vow simply observe *habiṣya* the previous day and bathe next morning, while fasting, with *ātap* rice and five fruits in a *dhucuni* on their head. The day is known as *Dharma-saṃkrānti*.

DISCUSSION

Mention has been made of the tradition of creation by Dharma, in the different works on worship or glorification of Dharma, in the first part of this note. Such stories of creation are, however, to be found in connection with certain other festivals, notably the Caḍak festival and the Gāmbhirā festival, which is a variant of the Caḍak, in Northern Bengal. The deity worshipped in this festival is Śiva, known also as Maheś and Mahādeva. In the accounts of creation however, which are recited at the time of adoration of the deity at Gāmbhirā, there is mention of Dharma as the creator.[1] In some accounts, the same description of creation is noted, without the specific mention of the word Dharma. Instead the creator is called the formless Lord who created Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvar. In one respect there is a difference in these traditions, which were collected in villages from actual priests and Bhaktas. The clay is said to be brought up by the crab, and Earth created on the back of the tortoise born of Dharma's touch on the waters. The Caḍak ceremony of Western Bengal has many features absent from that of Central Bengal.[2] The ritual of Dharma worship in Western Bengal is closely followed in it, although Śiva is the deity worshipped.[3] As noted in the earlier part of this essay, there is a tendency in Midnapur to equate Dharma to Śiva by making him husband of a Śakti. Mahāmahopādhyāy Haraprasād Śāstrī[4] has noted an excellent example of this transition. Referring to a well-known Dharma temple, he states : 'The offerings are made over to the priest of the temple, a Dom or Mayrā or Teli and he presents it (them) to the deity. But proud Brāhmaṇas when they offer any votive offering, disdain to have it presented by a low fellow and so they bring their own priests.....' In some temples in the vicinity of large Brāhmaṇa population, there are two priests, one low born and the other Brāhmaṇa, for presenting votive offerings. In one case the Brāhmaṇa has completely supplanted his low-born rival, and he now worships the deity with Śaiva mantras, and looks upon him as Śiva. But in daily worship, he divides the naivedya or rice offering placed on a brass plate in the form of a cone, into two semicones making a trench with his finger, and offers the joint naivedya, to the joint deity, saying 'Sivāya Dharmarājāya namaḥ'. In North Bengal, the two names occur together in the same festival, and in some cases become equivalent although not actually merged. In Central Bengal, both Dharma worship and Caḍak festival have lost many features still found in the ritual followed in Western Bengal. But the two worships resemble each other closely also in this area, Central Bengal. Evidently both these festivals are essentially the same and consist of a cult of a mother goddess and her consort a male god who is the central figure of the worship. The formlessness of the original creator is stressed in the recitals but is lost sight of in the ritual. The image becomes important and is adored. Again, although the snake Bāsuki is said to bear the earth on its head, yet, the other tradition of the tortoise doing so fits in better with the image of Dharma being generally tortoise-shaped. The addition of the Bāsuki tradition may have come later or it may represent the merging of some other similar cult in Dharma worship.

---

[1] Ādyer Gambhirā, by Śrī Haridās Pālit, *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. 16, p. 61 *et seq.* Ādyer Gambhirā, by Śrī Haridās Pālit, B.S. 1319 (1913), Chapter VI.

[2] A short account of the Charak Puja ceremonial, by Ram Comul Sen : *Journal A.S.B.*, 1833.

[3] Unpublished materials collected by the writer.

[4] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1894: Discovery of the remnants of Buddhism in Bengal, by Haraprasād Śāstrī.

Confirmation of the above conclusions is afforded by the worship of Dharmarāj in South India. According to some old Government records,[1] the Śūdra and lower caste Hindus had a fire walking ceremony in connection with the worship of Dharmarāja (spelt variously as Dhurmarajah, Durmaroy) for whom there are numerous temples. The record mentions 16 in Madras proper and 489 in other places, in the Madras Presidency. The fire walk is said to have been performed at the annual celebrations held in July in the case of Madras proper. It is noted further that the ceremony lasted from ten to eighteen days and the fire walk occurred on the last day. Mention is also made of piercing of tongues and limbs with narrow metal arrows of iron, and of lighting of cotton wicks on these. Arcot appears from the report to have been a great centre of Dharmarāja worship.

The nature of this Dharmarāja is made clear from the accounts in the District Gazetteers of this area. In South Arcot[2] it is stated 'The village deities are legion....their abodes are sometimes little brick structures, but in very many cases are only signalized by a stone or a brick with an iron trident set up before it...... Draupadi is the special favourite of the Pallis.... Draupadi, as is well-known, was the joint wife of the five Pāndava brothers of the Mahābhārata. The eldest of these, and consequently the one who had the chief right to her was named Dharma. His image frequently appears in Draupadi temples which are consequently known as Dharmarāja Kovils. They are very numerous and the priest at them is very generally a Palli by caste..... Outside the buildings is often a figure of Pothuraja'. 'Festivals to Draupadi always involve two points of ritual the recital (or acting) of a part of the Mahābhārata (which sometimes lasts for as many as ten consecutive days), and a fire walking ceremony.' The fire walking is stated to have 'latterly been introduced at the festivals to some of the other goddesses, but in such cases, the firepit must be lit with a brand brought from a Draupadi temple'. In Salem these temples are stated to be 'known as of Draupadiamman, but are also named after Dharmarāja.[3] The annual festival is said to be held in the springtime and lasts about 18 days. 'The sacrifice of Aravan, son of Arjuna by a Naga princess is commemorated by the slaughter of a goat, the entrails of which are afterwards entwined on a pole, surmounted with a hideous red mask which represents the head of the heroic youth'...... 'with the Pandava cult, a fire walking ceremony is usually associated'. Aravan, it may be noted fought in the battle of Kurukṣetra, and died to save the army of his father and uncle from a Rākṣasa (ogre).

---

[1] Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, No. VII, Madras, 1854.

[2] Gazetteer of the South Arcot District, Madras, 1906.

[3] Gazetteer of the Salem District, Madras, 1918.

Bishop Whitehead notes that Poturazu figures sometimes as the brother, sometimes as the husband, and sometimes as merely an attendant of the village goddess. 'In the Telugu country, Potu Razu, the brother or husband of the village goddess is sometimes represented by a stone and sometimes by a thin wooden stake like an attenuated post, about four or five feet high, and roughly carved at the top. It faintly resembles a spear and is called a Sulam, which in Telugu means a spear.'[1] The photo published by him shows the spear to resemble closely the spearlike image of Baneśwar, described earlier, as found in the Dharma temple at Labhpur.

It is evident that the cult of Dharma as performed in South India has many points of resemblance with that found in Western Bengal; but there are certain important differences. In South India, the Dharmarāja is definitely, Yudhiṣṭhir, who is referred to by this name (Dharmarāja) in the Mahābhārata. According to the epic[2] Dharma is the father of Yudhiṣṭhir. He (Dharma) himself is born of Brahma, from the breast of that god, and appears in human form. He is distinct from the Yama the god of death. The two gods are mentioned separately in the epic, in the same part, Banaparva, showing their distinctness in general. In the verse on the origin of Dharma, the god is mentioned, as bringing happiness to the Universe.

The mention of the name of Yudhiṣṭhir in the recital of Dharmamaṅgala by the priests in Western Bengal, fits in very well with these traditions.

Dharma himself was never a human being. His origin and attributes as described in the Mahābhārata have already been noted. In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa[3] the tale of Hariścandra is noted with certain differences. But it is Dharma, a great god, who brings back Hariścandra's son Rohitāsya, to life. Indra and other gods are stated to come with Dharma in their forefront and they refer to Dharma as Brahman visible to the eyes.

---

[1] The village deities of South India, Madras Government Museum Bulletin, Vol. 5, No. 3, Madras, 1903

The village gods of South India by the Rt. Rev. H. Whitehead, Bishop of Madras, 2nd edn., Oxford University Press, 1921.

[2] Mahābhārata, Ādiparva. Any good edition may be consulted. References to Dharma are found in the sub-section of the birth of Vidura and of Yudhiṣṭhira, in this parva.

[3] Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Cantos VII-VIII. References to Dharma are found also in Bhāgavata Purāṇa and Matsya Purāṇa.

MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī[1] has sought to make out that the cult in Western and Central Bengal is a remnant of Buddhism. Others have sought to equate Hariścandra to some mediaeval local king. Śrī Basanta Chattopadhyay has discussed some of these points in his introductions to Mayurabhaṭṭa's work[2] and the Anādimaṅgala.[3] He has rightly pointed out that the tale of Hariścandra is of great antiquity and that the name of Dharma occurs in very early Sanskrit literature (see later). Some of the points raised by Śāstrī have not however been met by him.

Śāstrī points out that[4] there is a certain resemblance between the story of Lāusen in Dharmamaṅgala and that of Buddha in Lalitavistara. The resemblance is not however very great and the similarity may be due to borrowing of details from one mythological tale by another, without the necessity of equating the Buddha with Dharma. If any equation is justifiable then Lāusen has to be equated to the hero of Lalitavistara, which leaves the question at issue unsolved. But a detailed examination does not justify any such identification. For example, Lāusen's mother sacrifices herself in order to get a son, and is again, brought back to life. Buddha's mother dies within a few days after the birth of her son. The two circumstances are quite different. A more important piece of evidence is that quoted by Śāstrī from Lama Tārānāth. The cult of Dhamma, i.e. Dharma is said to have been spread by a king of Tripurā, who went in for Tantrik practices and had a Dom mistress. It is further explained in this extract that 'by the worship of the Dharma is meant that of the Buddhist deities such as Vajra-Yogini' or Vajravarāhi, Vajrabhairava and others. But these worships are accretions to Buddhism proper from more primitive cults and the hypothesis leaves unexplained how 'the Dharma' (Righteousness ?) became a deity Dharma and why the tale of Hariścandra, or of Yudhiṣṭhir came to be linked up with this cult as an integral part. Also, the existence of a great god Dharma prior to the time of the mediaeval king of Tripura is ignored.

Śāstrī has argued that the shape of the deity Dharma is like that of a Buddhist Stupa and that this structure has two eyes, like Dharma, on the portion which may be termed the neck, just below the stone umbrella. It is stated 'now in the Buddhist Triad, Dhamma used to be represented by a stupa', with two eyes on the neck. It is however equally possible to argue that there was an old cult of worship of a tortoise-shaped deity which was absorbed by later Buddhism.[1] Apart from these objections it is to be noted, that the Dharma cult in South India is obviously not derived from Buddhism.

---

[1] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1894: Discovery of the remnants of Buddhism in Bengal, by Haraprasād Śāstrī.

[2] Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Mayurbhaṭṭa, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay, Calcutta, 1337 B.S. (=1931 A.D.). (S.P. publication.)

[3] Anādimaṅgala bā Śrī Dharma Purāṇa by Kabi Rāmdās Ādak, edited by Śrī Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyay, Calcutta, 1345 B.S (=1939 A.D.). (S.P. publication.)

[4] Śrī Dharmamaṅgala, by Paṇḍit Haraprasād Śāstrī, *J.A.S.B.*, 1895.

As regards Hariścandra, the tale occurs first in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.[2] The king, who had a hundred wives, was however without a son. He was advised by Nārada to pray to Varuṇa. Hariścandra followed this advice and obtained a son by promising to sacrifice to Varuṇa this son when born. The boy was named Rohita and grew up without being sacrificed to Varuṇa, until he could put on full armour. King Hariścandra had put off Varuṇa on various pretexts so long but had to yield now. Rohita however, unlike the prince of that name in Dharmamaṅgala, refused to offer himself up to Varuṇa, and fled from home. King Hariścandra was seized by Varuṇa who inflicted dropsy on him. After several years' of wandering Rohita bought a Ṛsi's son, of name Śunahsepa as substitute for himself and this was accepted by Varuṇa. Śunahsepa however propitiated Varuṇa and other deities by his prayers and there was no human sacrifice. The still earlier Ṛgveda records a hymn of Śunahsepa to Varuṇa to release him from bonds.[3]

Obviously the tales of Hariścandra in the Dharmamaṅgala, in the Purāṇas and in the Brāhmaṇas are closely related. Varuṇa in ancient times seems to have been propitiated by the offering of a son, obtained by making such a vow, like Dharma in later times. Some European scholars have expressed the view that the vow to sacrifice the son obtained by propitiating a god, defeats the purpose of the prayer. Hence there could not have been in existence such a cult of Varuṇa. They have failed to realize the implication that the first born son obtained by propitiation of the deity is to be sacrificed and other children will thereafter come through favour of the god. This was the motive of the now obsolete custom of giving up a son to the deity of 'Sāgara' (and therefore Varuṇa's equivalent; literally, 'the sea'). We may therefore say that the ancient records reveal a cult of Varuṇa with a human sacrifice as in the case of Dharma in much later times. It is not apparent when Varuṇa was replaced by Dharma; but it is a fact that this last named deity has taken Varuṇa's place in the tale of Hariścandra as it has come down to us. Varuṇa, in the Vedas, is a great god, and 'much oftener than Indra he is called universal monarch. . . . But more important than his physical attributes, are his moral qualities, his control of the order of the world in its ethical aspect, no less than in its physical, his connexion with the worshipper as the saviour in time of peril and distress, the freer from sin, the merciful god as well as the punisher of the sinner to whom he sends the disease dropsy—Varuṇa is the lord of the holy order Ṛta'.[1] We find further that 'As a moral governor Varuṇa stands far above any other deity. . . . Varuṇa. . . . is the supreme upholder of law in the moral as well as physical world'.[2] This is also the function of the great god Dharma as portrayed in the Mahābhārata and in the tale of Hariścandra in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. The cult of Varuṇa as a great god did not find favour in the later Vedic times, and the deity eventually lost in importance and survived only as the lord of waters. The god Dharma seems to have taken over the functions of Varuṇa in the matter of maintenance of law and order in the moral world. The equipage of Varuṇa seems also to have been taken over by Dharma. This god like Varuṇa uses the 'pāśa' or noose.[3] We have seen, that Dharma has his chariot and powerful and fast steeds. We note that 'the only part of Varuṇa's equipment which is at all prominent is his car. It is. . . . drawn by well yoked steeds'. Varuṇa guards also the steed of Aśvamedha.

---

[1] Support is given to this view by a passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, VIII, 4, 35. Prajāpati is stated to have created offspring after assuming the shape of a tortoise (Kūrma). All living creatures are hence termed children of Kaśyapa (Tortoise).

[2] The Aitareya Brahmana of the Rig Veda, by Martin Haug, Bombay, 1863, VII, 3.

[3] Rigveda Brahmanas, by A. B. Keith, Harvard University Press, 1920, pp. 61, for the earlier references to Śunah-sepa and a critical discussion.

Another point of resemblance lies in the association of the sun with Varuṇa. 'The eye with which Varuṇa is said—to observe mankind is undoubtedly the sun.'[4] Dharma it is to be noted, is associated with the sun among the primitive tribal folk of Chota Nagpur. The great god Dharma is believed by them to manifest himself in the sun.[5]

The cult of human sacrifice did not find favour with the Brāhmaṇs. We read in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa that the priests refused to sacrifice the human victim to Varuṇa. We may therefore conclude that Brāhmanic influence, while tolerating the cult, eliminated the human victim. The ancient literature does not state whether any animal took the place of the human victim. But (*a*) the similarity in the name of the sacrificial goat, and the child born through such sacrifice, (*b*) the form of address of the sacrificed animal as 'Baba' (son, in endearment), (*c*) the reference to the woman devotee as 'mother' of Loue, and (*d*) the placing of the iron ring of the sacrificed goat on the child born of such offering, leave very little doubt that the goat has taken the place of the son born of sacrifice before Dharma.

---

[1] The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, by A. B. Keith, Harvard University Press, 1925 (Vol. 31).

[2] Vedic Mythology, by A. A. Macdonell, Grundriss der Indo Arischen Philogie und altertums Kunde, Strassburg, 1889.

Regarding the affliction of dropsy by Varuṇa there are numerous references in the Ṛg Veda and Atharva Veda.

[3] Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio's edition, Vol. I), Ādikāṇḍa, XXX.

[4] Vedic Mythology, by A. A. Macdonell, Grundriss der Indo Arischen Philogie und altertums Kunde, Strassburg, 1889.

Regarding the affliction of dropsy by Varuṇa there are numerous references in the Ṛg Veda and Atharva Veda.

[5] Oraon religion and Customs, by Sarat Chandra Roy, Ranchi, 1928. Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, by E. Dalton, Calcutta, 1872.

It may be pointed out that the substitution of one human victim by another as noted in the ancient tradition, and also of human victims by animals are known to have occurred in modern times in connection with allied worship and ceremonial. In Madras, the hook swinging festival corresponding to Caḍak in Bengal, used originally to be celebrated by devotees of the lower Hindu castes. A high caste man would however sometimes make a vow. It is reported that he could send a substitute whom he had paid for such service.[1] Again, after the use of hooks was prohibited by the Government 'live goats were substituted' and these were swung round instead of the man.[2] The cruelty of this practice has however been recognized, and it is now usual in this Presidency to use a wooden dummy. Again, the Khonds had formerly a human sacrifice, to promote fertility of the soil. The human being selected, known as *meriah* was treated with great kindness and maintained for a number of years, before the actual sacrifice. After human sacrifice was prohibited, the place of the *meriah* has been taken by domestic animals.[3] A sheep, goat or buffalo is now sacrificed. After it has been selected the animal is let loose to graze on the crops at will, like the *Loue* goat of Dharma. The Khonds, it may be noted call the creator alternatively as Dharma Pennu. Some of the Santals clans, such as the Godā Mārāṇḍi, have a festival called *buru beret*, celebrated at the full moon in Agrahayan (Nov.-Dec.) in which a cock is torn to pieces by the villagers, who try to obtain a part of it, as in the case of the *meriah* sacrifice among Khonds mentioned earlier. If in the scramble, human blood flows from injuries received, the *bongas* (ghostly deities) are said to be pleased. It is admitted that there is a tradition of a human sacrifice in olden times in place of the cock killed at present. Possession of a piece of the victim, especially of the head is believed to bring good luck to the person.[1] In the worship of Dharma, in Birsinha I have noted an example of a substitute doing duty for a special devotee. In the description of the South Indian festival of Dharma or Draupadi, mention has been made of a goat being sacrificed and its entrails hung up to represent a human being.

---

[1] Selection from the Records of the Madras Government, No. VII, Madras, 1854.

[2] Gazetteer of the Cuddapah district, Vol. I, Madras, 1915.

[3] A personal narrative of thirteen years' service amongst the wild tribes of Khondistan, by Major-Gen. John Campbell, London, 1864. Memorials of service in India, by S. C. McPherson, London, 1805.

There are therefore very strong grounds for concluding that an ancient cult with a human victim has come down to us, as the central feature of the Dharma pūjā, the sacrificial *Loue* goat having taken the place of the human being, very early in the history of its incorporation into the culture of the advanced people of Western Bengal.

It is not suggested that the cult has not been affected by Buddhism, Śaivism, and other religious influences. The results of such influence are obvious in the worship and ritual. Nevertheless, the core of the cult—the sacrifice which is made, and the fulfilment of the wished for end,—are not derived directly from the well-known historical religion or sects mentioned. It is however possible that some traits of the primitive cult which has survived as the Loue sacrifice before Dharma, had been incorporated also in popular Buddhism and Śaivism as part of those religions in their popular form. This would facilitate the borrowing of other traits from these religions by the followers of the primitive cult.

---

[1] There is a brief mention of this rite in a footnote to the Gazetteer of the Santal Parganas and in Dr. Bodding's Santal Dictionary. The details have been taken from unpublished data collected by the writer among Santals. It may further be noted that the Santals also worship Dharma as a great god.

~~~
~~~

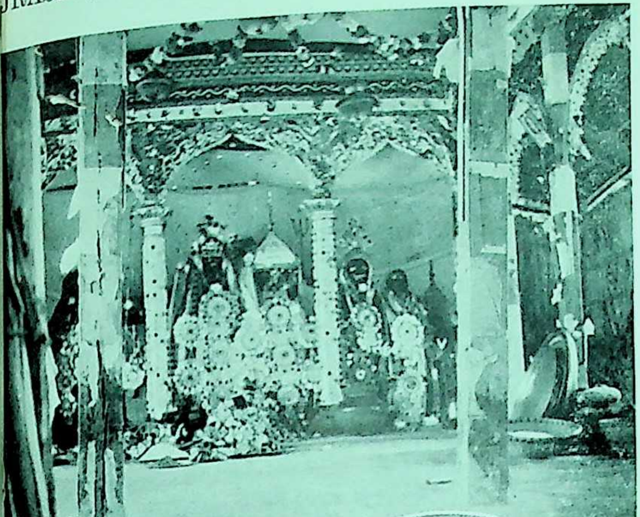


FIG. 1. The deities, including Dharma, in the shed, at Birsinha, Midnapur.

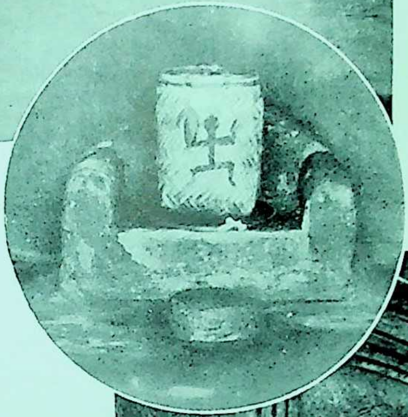


FIG. 2 (*centre*). The basket on the seat of Dharma, Kasba.

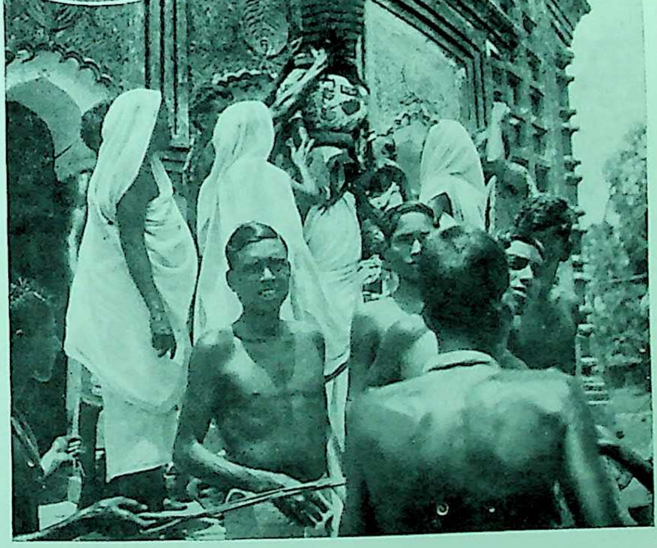


FIG. 3. The 'mother' of the Loue with the earthen pot and basket on her head, in front of the temple, Birsinha.

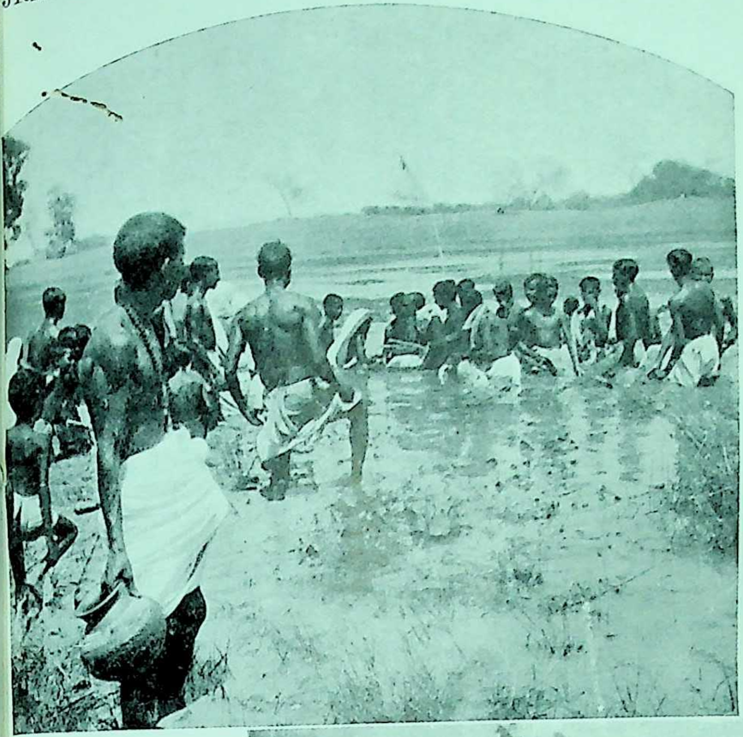


FIG. 4. The immersion of the pot with the head of the sacrificial goat. The woman is about to take her dip.

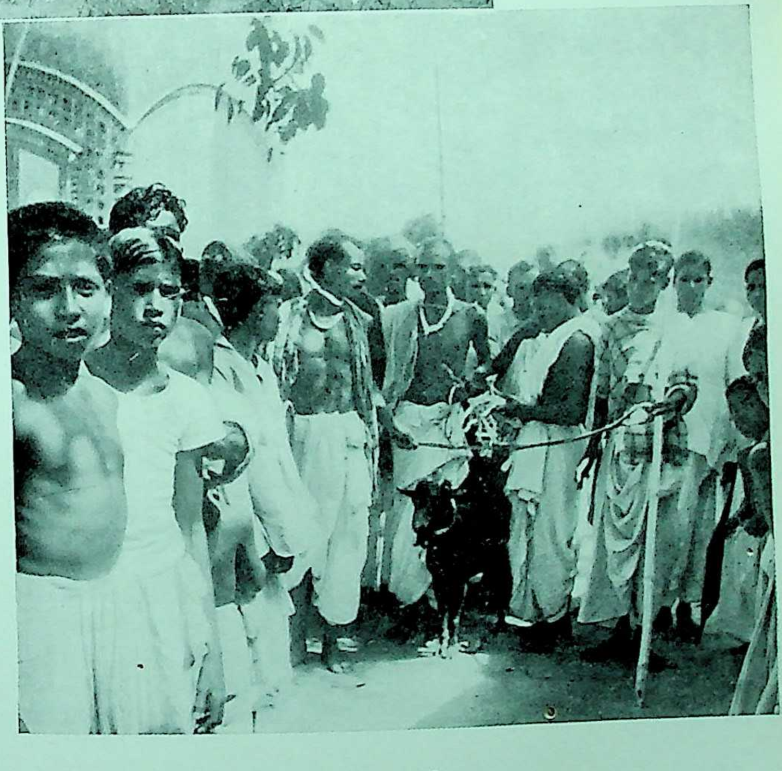


FIG. 5: The sacrificial goat led in procession by devotees, Birsinha.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

'MĀRWĀD KĀ ITIHĀS'. By PT. VISHWESHWAR NĀTH REU; Vol. I (early XIIIth century—1803 A.D.), pp. 1–400; Vol. II (1803–1938 A.D.), pp. 401–772. Published by the Archæological Department, Jodhpur. Price of each Volume, Rs.5 for cloth bound copy, and Rs.4-8-0 for paper cover.

It is the State History of the Jodhpur State, written by Pt. Vishweshwar Nāth Reu, the State Historian, and is published under authority of the Jodhpur Government. These two volumes can well be described as the continuation of the 'History of the Rāshtrakutās (Rathores)' by the same author, which gives the history of this dynasty prior to its coming down to Marwad. In these two volumes Pt. Reu carries the history of dynasty during its rule in Marwad and hence as such it is called the history of Marwad.

The first volume gives in the beginning a very brief account of the history of Marwad prior to its occupation by the Rathores. A few introductory sections cursorily deal with the greatness and glories of the Rathore rulers, their munificent charities and grants, and finally with their patronage to learning and other finer arts. The regular history of the Rathore dynasty of the Jodhpur State begins on p. 31 with the reign of Rao Sihāji, who founded the State in the first quarter of the XIIIth century A.D. In the first volume the history of the dynasty is carried down to the end of the reign of Maharaja Bhim Sinh, who died in 1803 A.D. The history is continued in the second volume and is carried to the end of the reign of Maharaja Sumer Sinhji who ruled till 1918. In each reign the author has tried to give the chief events in strict chronological order and at the end wherever it was possible a sketch of the ruler's character, a statement of important places built or repaired during his regime and finally a list of his direct descendants have been given. Discussions about variations in dates, or regarding the authenticity or otherwise of any fact have been given in foot-notes only.

The main work ends on p. 532, and there follow a number of Appendices to the main work. The events of the reign of the present ruler, Maharaja Ummaid Sinhji, up to the year 1938, and an account of his two big game hunting expeditions in East Africa have been given as Appendix 1 and 2. In the following appendices the author has given an account of the part played by the famous Sardar Risala of Jodhpur in the last Great War of 1914–1918, a statement of the villages granted in charity, a short description of the present administrative system along with the details of the various important departments of the State, and an explanatory list of the various dues the jagirdars have to pay to the State. Another appendix gives a short note on the coins of Marwad and their inscriptions. A short life of Rao Amar, whose name has been immortalized in the *Amar Singh Darwāzā* of the Agra fort, has been attempted. A list of names of important persons killed on the side of Marwad in the various battles has been given. The geneological tables of other Rathore Ruling houses directly descended from the House of Jodhpur are given in the last Appendix. At the end there has been given a very exhaustive and useful index.

The historical writings of the author and his style are too well known among the scholars to need any special introduction here. The fact that it is a State history and is published by authority has to some extent restricted his pen and hence the author may have committed some sins of omission, yet it must be admitted that the author has made an effort at impartiality in presenting the annals of a great dynasty, which was not without many of its inherent short-comings. He has also tried to throw some new light on the relations of Marwad with Mewad. He has also done his best to refute many charges and unfavourable statements made by Dr. G. H. Ojha and other scholars about the various rulers of Marwad, and has quoted eminent historical authorities in support of his own case. He has thus made it possible for the scholars to come to a correct judgment in respect to these matters in the light of the authorities quoted by him and other previous writers.

The author has tried to utilize all the possible published sources and unpublished *khyāts*. He has also made use of the various inscriptions, copper-plates, coins, etc. which directly or indirectly throw some light on the history of the period. It is, however, regrettable to note that the unpublished Persian authorities have not been usually utilized save through the printed works of other scholars. A thorough study of the Akhbarats, letters and other documents of the reign of Aurangzib and his successors would make it possible for us to reconstruct the history of those momentous years in the history of Marwad. Then again the author has completely ignored the original Marathi sources for the history of Marwad during the XVIIIth century. A thorough study of these combined with that of the Persian Akhbars, which begin once again from the year 1779, will make it possible for us to present a fuller picture of that century of internal disorder and anarchy which preceded the final establishment of the British supremacy in India. The value of the work is, however, greatly increased by the exhaustive foot-notes packed with facts and details giving much additional information which may not have been directly useful to the main theme of the work. He has also rendered a great service by referring in these foot-notes to the many anecdotes and events narrated in the *khyāts* which are still uncorroborated by other sources, and has thus provided much raw material of history for future historians, which may have been ordinarily ignored by them altogether.

Though one misses in these volumes the inspiring forceful style of Tod, and the matter-of-fact outlook of Ojha, we have before us a readable work brim-full of facts, packed with all possible details, and putting forth a point of view which cannot be easily denied. Dr. S. K. Aiyengar very correctly says 'the work is scholarly and carefully compiled and will prove a valuable hand-book to scholars'. The author should be congratulated for having completed the task set to his predecessors in the office half a century ago; and the thanks of the world of historians are due to him for having attempted, and that too with much success, the difficult task of narrating the chronicles of Marwad.

The printing and the get-up of the book is excellent, and hence the long lists of errata are very much to be deplored. In these two volumes there are many exquisitive photographs of various historical places and buildings in Marwad, and tri-coloured pictures of the various rulers of Marwad from paintings specially prepared by the State-painter for the purpose. It is not unlikely that these paintings were prepared on the basis of much older and in some cases contemporary paintings, but the historians would have very much preferred the publication of those older paintings themselves.

Finally, the Marwad Government deserves to be congratulated for having published what may easily be called one of the best State histories so far published, and more so for getting it published in Hindi as it definitely enriches the Hindi literature. It would be no exaggeration to say that *Mārwād-kā-Itihās* would be a valuable addition to any library, and no collection of books specializing in Indian history would be complete without a copy of the same.

RAGHUBIR SINH.

HUMĀYŪN BĀDSHĂH, VOL. II. By S. K. BANERJI. 9×6, xvi, 444 pages. Maxwell Co., Lucknow, 1941. Rs.8.

The first volume of this history of Humāyūn, the second Mughal Emperor of India, was published in 1938 (Oxford University Press, Calcutta), and dealt with the first part of his reign culminating in his defeats at the hands of Shēr Shāh Sūr in the battles of Chausa and Qanauj, and finally his flight to the Panjāb in 1540 A.D. The narrative beginning with his flight to Lāhōre is continued in the second volume now issued. The first six chapters are devoted to detailed accounts of Humāyūn's wanderings in the Panjāb, Sind and Rājpūtāna, and his unsuccessful attempts towards rallying his supporters for recovering the kingdom. In chapter IV is given an account of his marriage with Ḥamīda Bānū, the mother of Emperor Akbar, and in chapter VII the birth of this august Prince is discussed. Chapters VIII–XIII deal with Humāyūn's return to Sind and later his flight through Seistān to Persia, his stay in Persia, and finally his march to Afghānistān with a Persian army, and the struggles with his brothers resulting in his gaining control of this part of his kingdom. Chapters XIV and XV are devoted to a description of Humāyūn's successful invasion of India and the short period of his 'second kingship' which ended with his death on 28th January, 1556. In chapters XVI–XVIII the author gives an account of Akbar under Humāyūn's tutelage, Bābur's family, and the prominent women of Humāyūn's time. The innovations, regulations and monuments of Humāyūn and his character are dealt with in chapter XIX, while in the closing chapter (XX) the author discusses such general subjects as kingship, nobility, and the people in Humāyūn's time.

En passant it may be noted that, as stated by the author, several of the earlier chapters of this volume have already been published as original papers in the journals of the Historical Societies of the United Provinces and Sind, while two of them were communicated to the session of the Indian History Congress at Calcutta, 1939.

The work is based on a detailed study of the contemporary sources listed on pages 410–425. With the development of historical research and studies these sources are fortunately at the present day much more extensive than those on which Erskine based his admirable account of Humāyūn in the second volume of his *History of India* (1854), and there can be little doubt that the author has made very good use of the material that is now available for the history of the period.

The volume under review is a mine of historical data mixed up with a great deal of general information, and differs to a certain extent from the plan followed in the first volume. Extensive general observations are included at the end of each chapter in this volume, and attention may be directed to the detailed index at the end of the volume, which adds materially to its value as a work of reference. In this connection it would have been useful if a complete chronology of the events of the reign had been included at the end of this volume.

The work is well printed, but a fair number of misprints, particularly in Persian texts, have remained uncorrected. The translations of several passages are not quite up to the high standard of the work, and the author's conclusions in some cases, as for example the general results of Humāyūn's sojourn in Irān on p. 131, are not borne out by the available historical data. On the whole, the work opens a new vista in the history of Humāyūn's reign and should prove very valuable as a work of reference for the students of Mug̱hal History. The very detailed treatment of the subject is unfortunately not equally critical all through the work, and a certain amount of lack of balance is noticeable in several chapters. The author has, however, creditably accomplished a difficult task, and is to be congratulated on producing a valuable compendium on a period of the Mug̱hal history about which controversial views have been held by several distinguished authorities.

B. P.

A GRAMMAR OF THE OLDEST KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS. By A. N. NARASIMHIAH, M.A., L.T., Ph.D. (London), University Librarian and Part-time Professor of Philology, Maharaja's College, Mysore. 'University of Mysore Studies in Dravidian Philology': Mysore, 1941. Pp. xxi, 375. Price Rs.2-12-0.

The present volume is a welcome addition to the not very extensive literature on the subject of Dravidian Linguistics, and in both its careful planning and conscientious execution the work embodies a mass of exact information on the oldest phase of the Kannada language of which we have records, viz. of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., which will make it indispensable for some time to come before it can be superseded by something more up-to-date. The work was accepted by the University of London for the degree of Ph.D. to which the author was admitted in 1933; and we can congratulate the University of Mysore in finally giving it to us in its present form. It forms a contribution of real importance in the study of Kannada and Dravidian Philology, and I trust it will inspire other similar works on Old Tamil and Old Telugu.

More than three quarters of a century have passed since the inception of Dravidian Linguistics took place with the publication in 1856 of Bishop Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*. Individual Dravidian languages were taken up in descriptive grammars by scholars, mostly Europeans, and lexicographers like Kittel and Gundert and Denys Bray continued the work of Caldwell by instituting comparisons among the various Dravidian languages in their roots, affixes and vocables. In the meanwhile, in addition to the grammars of the various Dravidian languages (the most recent being those of the uncultivated speeches of the family—Kui, Gondi, and Brahui), the inscriptions in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, and Telugu as well as the earlier classics in these languages were being published, and in this way a mass of material was accumulated to which the 'linguistician' or philologist could turn. The number of scholars who felt attracted to Dravidian Linguistics, however, remained small: European curiosity inspiring research could not feel so very much interested in Dravidian as in Indo-Aryan as an important branch of Indo-European, and the number of European (and American) workers who made definite contributions to Dravidian Linguistics remained small: we can mention (in addition to the inaugurators and workers of the first two generations, viz. Caldwell, Gundert and Kittel) Sten Konow, F. Hahn, Mark Collins, Julien Vinson, Jules Bloch, M. B. Emeneau, and E. H. Tuttle, besides a few others. It appeared that no great advance in the subject could be expected until Indian scholars themselves, speaking Dravidian languages, entered the field, with the requisite scientific curiosity and training: the special interest, of course, will always be there, affecting as it does their own speeches and their development.

During the first decade of the present century, we have the inaûguration of studies in Dravidian Linguistics among South Indian scholars, and probably the first noteworthy paper on the subject is a brilliant essay to formulate a comparative and historical phonology of Dravidian by K. V. Subbaiya, which appeared in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1909. The change of orientation in our Indian Universities, which, beginning with that of Calcutta, gradually transformed themselves into teaching and research institutions from merely examining bodies, combined with an Indian cultural renaissance which brought home to the people of India the necessity of studying their own languages, has ushered in a new period of study and research in Indian languages which is now being fostered side by side with the study of Indian history in most Indian Universities, besides other institutions of a cultural and educational character. In 1919 the University of Madras published three numbers of *Dravidian Studies*, by C. P. Venkatarama Ayyar, M.A., L.T. ('the Demonstrative Bases'), by K. V. Subbaiya, M.A., L.T. ('the Pronouns and Pronominal Terminations of the First Person in Dravidian'), and by S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai, M.A., L.T. ('the Sanskritic Element in the Vocabularies of the Dravidian Languages'); and Prof. K. Ramakrishnaiah, M.A., of the Telugu Department in the Oriental Research Institute of the University of Madras, published in 1935 from the University his *Studies in Dravidian Philology*, which gave an able general *résumé* of the subject. Among individual scholars whose papers are regularly appearing in the different journals, Prof. L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar, M.A., B.L., of the Maharaja's College, Ernakulam, Cochin State, is specially to be mentioned: he has made the field of Dravidian Linguistics his very own by contributing a large number of valuable articles on various aspects of the subject, and one of his complete works—*The Evolution of Malayalam Morphology* (Ernakulam, Cochin Government Press, 1936)—is a very well-documented historical grammar of the language of Kērala, incomplete in so far as the phonology and syntax have not been treated in it. The late Professor P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar's *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture* (Madras University, 1930) should also be mentioned—although the work, strictly speaking, is not on Linguistics, but on what may be called Linguistic Palaeontology for Early Tamil (and Dravidian), and is very significant in many ways.

And now the latest important work in this domain is Dr. Narasimhiah's book. The oldest authentic specimens of Kannada are in the inscriptions as selected by Dr. Narasimhiah in this work, and they all are prior to 700 A.D. The highly developed state of the language shows that there was considerable literary culture of it from very early times. We have a literature from the ninth century onwards in what has been called *Paḷe-gannaḍa* (or *Haḷe-gannaḍa*), i.e. 'Old Kannada', as opposed to the later phase of the language called *Hosa-gannaḍa*. The language treated in Dr. Narasimhiah's work is what has been called *Pūrvada Paḷe-gannaḍa* or 'Archaic Old Kannada'. As the specimens are from contemporary documents, they are more valuable for phonetic and other standpoints than MSS. which are generally much later than the date of composition of a work. Dr. Narasimhiah has fully discussed the value of his materials, and at the end of the grammar he has given the text of the 66 inscriptions utilised by him. All these are rather short ones. They are given in Roman transcription, for which we are grateful—Kannada and other words have throughout been written in this international script, so convenient in philological work—but unfortunately translations have not been given, whether in this appendix or in the body of the work when words and forms are quoted. This is a rather unfortunate omission for students of language who are not specialists in Dravidian and have no acquaintance with Kannada in the ordinary way. I hope this will be rectified and the value of the work thereby considerably enhanced when a second edition is called for. We wish Dr. Narasimhiah had discussed in detail the supposedly ancient Kannada lines found in the fragments of a Greek drama discovered among the Oxyrrhynchus papyri of the second century A.D. from Egypt: we have been accustomed to look upon them as the oldest specimens of Kannada, following the late Dr. Hultzsch.

Dr. Narasimhiah first discusses the inscriptional material, and then in the Phonology section he makes only a restricted study of a few problems—confining himself to 'the history of the O.K. *p*, *r*, *v*, and *l*, with a descriptive account of the O.K. consonant groups and long consonants'. There is a wealth of dated forms showing clearly the line of development for these sounds. The change of $p > h$ is a phenomenon paralleled in other speeches (e.g. Chittagong Bengali $p > \phi$ [bilabial spirant] $> h$, Japanese *p-*, *-p-* $> \phi > h$: in fact, the Japanese language still shows ϕ in transition to *h*), and it need not have been induced by the sound changes $v > b$ and *-p-* > *-b-*. The real reason is given by Dr. Narasimhiah himself at p. 12 of his book. The *r* discussed is the so-called 'palatal' *r* (*r′* = ற் of Tamil), which still survives in Tamil and Malayalam, and the *l* is the voiced retroflex fricative, *ẓ* (= ழ் of Tamil), transcribed from Tamil and from Malayalam (where they still occur) respectively as *l̤* and *zh*. The sound changes of $p > h$, of $v > b$, and of *ẓ* to *r* and *ḷ* were about a thousand years old, while *r′* continued down to the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. Kannada did not possess a very large variety of consonant conjuncts, a nasal or *l*, *ḷ*, *y*, *r*+consonant being the characteristic combinations, except in Sanskrit loan-words. Long, i.e. double consonants are found in suffixes—

between vowels, and after *r*. All these special aspects of Old Kannada Phonology have been historically treated.

Old Kannada Morphology has been discussed in great detail, utilising most of the forms, but the paucity of material here has been a great handicap for a full treatment. For a full grammar, *Paḷe-gannaḍa* literature must be requisitioned, although this is later in time. Unless the Kannada speech of the eighth to fourteenth centuries is not very different from the Kannada of the inscriptions treated in this book, we shall be very glad to have from Dr. Narasimhiah a fuller grammar of Old Kannada up to say 1400 A.D. with full comparisons with the other Dravidian languages, wherever these will be helpful in arriving at the situation in Primitive Dravidian. A few selected texts in addition, with translation and linguistic commentary, will make such a work a *desideratum*. The final aim should not be lost sight of—to find out what the Prehistoric Source-Speech of the historical Dravidian languages, what may be described as the *Ādi-Drāviḍa-bhāṣā*, or *Ur-Drawidisch* (or, to suggest a daring hypothetical form, **Dramiẓ-col*), was like. The importance of this not only for the student of language but also for the history of culture in India, and possibly outside India, is patent to everyone.

Dr. Narasimhiah has not omitted to treat the Syntax of the language as well. There is a very useful Word Index, forming a full Old Kannada-English Dictionary of all the words in the inscriptions. In the Appendices there are studies of the Proper Names, of the Metre and *Alaṅkāra*, and of the Indo-Aryan Loanwords.

The work is thus quite a valuable one in Dravidian Linguistics. I only wish that the typography were better: the lettering and general arrangement are capable of much improvement. A careful and painstaking work of this type should have had better arrangement, and it deserved better printing. These embellishments apart, we feel sincerely appreciative of Dr. Narasimhiah's study, and we hope this will be followed in due time by a complete historical and comparative grammar of the ancient and graceful Speech of the Land of the Black Soil,—which undoubtedly came in contact with our Bengali Speech in its formative period, when Karṇāṭa Kshatriyas came and settled in red-soil land of West Bengal and the alluvial plains of the delta and gave to this part of India its glorious dynasty of the Sēna Kings during whose rule the Bengalis became fully characterized in their language and in the bases of their culture.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

A PILLARED HALL FROM A TEMPLE AT MADURA, INDIA, IN THE PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART. By W. NORMAN BROWN. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1940, pp. 84. Price 12*s*.

In 1912 Miss A. P. Gibson purchased, in an auction sale at Madura, a number of pillars and other architectural pieces belonging to one or more old temples which were lying about in the compound of the Madana Gopala Svami Temple. Miss Gibson died in France in the military service during the last Great War on January 10, 1919, and the pieces were presented to the Philadelphia Museum in her memory. It was believed for a long time that these pieces were originally part of the Madana Gopala Svami group of temples. Mr. Norman Brown, the author of the book under review, was sent to India in 1934-35 to examine the site from which the pieces came with a view to assisting the Museum authorities in their installation at Fairmount Hall. Mr. Brown learnt on inquiry that the majority of the architectural pieces came from a subsidiary temple dedicated to Lakshmī in the neighbouring group of temples known as Perumal temple, which was probably erected in the first half of the sixteenth century A.D.

The main theme of the author is the description of the architectural pieces with an explanation of their significance, both historical and architectural. He has done this more elaborately than is usual in a Museum guide book by adding two preliminary chapters dealing with the history of Madura and the general evolution of the South Indian Temple Architecture. He has then described the architectural pieces, particularly the columns and the frieze, with a full discussion of the sculptures engraved on them. As the author himself admits, the identification of the reliefs is not always certain and free from doubts, but he has done his task with painstaking thoroughness. The author has not only succeeded in arranging the archaeological pieces as definite parts of an ordered whole, but has also put a fresh meaning and significance into them by co-ordinating the reconstructed Maṇḍapa to the general architectural evolution of South Indian temples. The visitors to the Philadelphia Museum will now see in those isolated pieces of stone the culmination of a long evolution of architectural style extending over two thousand years, on the background of a civilization whose antiquity goes still further back.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

ADAM'S REPORTS ON THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL, 1835–1838. Edited by ANATH NATH BASU, Head of the Teachers' Training Department, Calcutta University. Calcutta, 1941. Pp. lxvii+578. Price not stated.

The Reports of Adam on the state of education in Bengal in the early decades of the last century have been the most authentic source of detailed information on the subject. Every writer on the educational developments in this country has had to consult this authoritative and invaluable document when discussing educational problems of India. The original edition has however been out of print for nearly a century. A somewhat abridged edition was brought out by Rev. J. Long, in 1868. Some of the sections in Adam's reports were considered less important and left out in that edition. A statistical appendix was also omitted. Long, however, added a brief summary of the educational work done between 1838 when Adam submitted the last of his series of reports, and 1868, when Long brought out the abridged edition.

The University of Calcutta have very recently brought out a complete edition of the Reports, including the summary of Long. An introduction, which includes a biographical sketch of Adam, a review of the reports and a résumé of the later developments have also been added, by the editor. They are very helpful to the reader in forming an idea of the background against which the work was done and the personality of the writer of the reports. They convey also a clear picture of the failure of the official mind, even when there were brilliant men like Macaulay in the bureaucracy, to appreciate the real educational needs of the people of our country.

Although a foreigner, and working in a period when a careful survey was extremely difficult to make by reason of paucity of earlier reports, Adam carried out successfully what was really a stupendous task. Adam collected in his first report the available information from the authentic sources accessible to him. He supplemented these details also by enquiries from reliable educational workers. After thus bringing into 'a methodized form the information previously existing in detached portions' in various works, Adam collected actual samples by intensive work in a single thana in Rajshahi District. The results of this survey are incorporated in the second report. Adam next toured through several districts of Bengal and Bihar, collecting statistics on education, by an extensive survey. These details are noted and discussed in the third and final report. It is in this report that Adam clearly states his views regarding the promotion of general education in Bengal. He advocated that full use should be made of the existing institutions of indigenous education, with suitable modifications to improve the method and content of the teaching. He opposed strenuously though vainly Macaulay's advocacy of the system which subsequently resulted in a topheavy structure of education, based on English as the medium of instruction. From the report of Long, printed as an appendix in the present edition, it appears that while Adam's work did not bear fruit in Bengal, it was proved to be on the right lines by the efforts of Mr. Thomason, Lieutenant Governor of the newly separated North Western Provinces. He organized schools which used the language of the people as the medium and also libraries to distribute books in these languages among the village schools. A portion of Adam's third report was reprinted and circulated among Government officials. Thomason's personal interest and care made the experiment a success. On the death of this educationist and administrator in 1853, Lord Dalhousie, expressed in a minute his appreciation of the work done and recommended 'the extension of the scheme of vernacular education to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the North Western Provinces'.

In a brief review like this, it is not desirable to include further details. The summary noted will however, it is hoped, bring before the general reader interested in Indian education the value of the reports which the University of Calcutta have made accessible to the general public. The University authorities and the editor in particular are to be congratulated on their completion of this work at the present difficult time.

K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

HAIDAR ALI, VOLUME I. By DR. N. K. SINHA.

Dr. N. K. Sinha's Haidar Ali is not only a book by a scholar for scholars but it is also very agreeable reading for the layman. The author has utilized the contemporary Marathi, Portuguese, Dutch and French sources—original sources which Wilks, in his standard work on Mysore, could not tap. He has also drawn freely on the Madras records which contain detailed information about Haidar Ali.

Haidar Ali and Ranjit Singh were the two most remarkable Indians in the century after Plassey. Dr. Sinha has discussed both these careers in separate books. The policies of these two great leaders were diametrically opposite. Ranjit Singh desisted from a collision with the English. Haidar Ali persisted in his anti-British policy. In the circumstances of that period Ranjit Singh succeeded (at least in his lifetime) and Haidar Ali failed. It is in the fitness of things that Dr. N. K. Sinha should have dealt with both these remarkable careers.

In this work, besides Haidar Ali, we come in contact with other historic personalities. Madhava Rao, one of the greatest of the Peshwas, and Raghunath Rao, the worst of them, both figure in prominent rôles. The local politics of Madras, Bombay, Pondicherry and Goa make very interesting reading. Especially the bungling policy of the Madras authorities comes in for well-deserved criticism by the author.

In a language free from verbosity Dr. Sinha has done full justice to a period which saw the rise of the British power in India. We are eagerly looking forward to the second volume which will complete the life-sketch of Haidar Ali.

B. R. CHATTERJI.

NOTICE

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. **Letters** is a continuation of the following four periodicals published by the Society :

Asiatic Researches, I–XX, 1788–1839.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I–LXXIII, 1832–1904.

Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I–XL, 1865–1904.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, I–XXX, 1905–1934.

Single numbers are charged for at the rate of 8 annas for each 16 pages or part of 16 pages text, and for each plate, map, table, etc., not in the text. Postage extra.

Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal receive the current numbers of the Journal gratuitously, by virtue of their membership, and, if ordering back issues direct from the Society, have a right to a discount of 25% on their prices.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal publishes also :

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Science, since 1935.
Year-Book of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, since 1935.
Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, since 1905.
Bibliotheca Indica, a series of Oriental Works, since 1849.
Catalogues of Manuscripts.
Separate reprints of single articles in the **Journal.**
Miscellaneous publications.

The publications, information about them, and price lists giving details, are obtainable, on application, from the Society or its Agents.

A number of complete volumes or loose numbers of the older periodicals of the Society are still available for sale.

Revised prices of loose numbers of the Journal published by the Society.

All previous prices as printed on the issues of the various "Journals" published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal are cancelled.

Loose numbers will until further notice be sold at the fixed rate of eight annas per unit.

Units are calculated on the basis of one for each 16 pages or part of 16 pages text, and one for each plate, table, or map not in the text, contained in any number.

All old sterling equivalents cancelled. Postage extra.

Obtainable from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 1, Park Street, Calcutta, or from the Society's Agents :—

MESSRS. LUZAC & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.
M. PAUL GEUTHNER, 13, Rue Jacob, Paris, VI^e.
BUCHHANDLUNG OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, 14, Querstrasse, Leipzig.
MESSRS. THACKER, SPINK & Co., 3, Esplanade, East, Calcutta.
MESSRS. THE MOORE-COTTRELL SUBSCRIPTION AGENCIES, New York, U.S.A.

Residents of Europe should order from the local Agents.

When ordering direct from the Society the following rules should be observed :—

Orders should be addressed to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and not to any Official by name or title.

All Cheques, Money Orders, etc., should be made payable to the "Treasurer, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal".

Orders for books should be accompanied by a full name and address, legibly written, and should be sent on a separate sheet of paper containing no other communication.

In India books are supplied by V.-P.P.

CONTENTS

Page

1. N. K. BHATTASALI.
The Rājāvāḍī (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva 1
With Plates 1 and 2.
(*Published separately, June* 12*th*, 1942.)

2. P. C. SENGUPTA.
The Gupta Era 41
(*Published separately, June* 1*st*, 1942.)

3. N. B. ROY.
Jajnagar Expedition of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh—English Translation and Text of an Extract from 'Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī' 57
(*Published separately, August* 10*th*, 1942.)

4. K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.
Dharma Worship 99
With Plates 3 and 4.
(*Published separately, August* 15*th*, 1942.)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS 137

CALCUTTA:—Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Printed by G. E. Bingham, Baptist Mission Press, 41A Lower Circular Road.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

LETTERS

Vol. VIII, 1942, No. 2

SIR·WILLIAM·JONES
MDCCXLVI-MDCCXCIV

CALCUTTA
PRINTED AT THE BAPTIST MISSION PRESS
PUBLISHED BY THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, 1, PARK STREET

Issued November, 1942

Price Rs.8-8-0

Officers and Members of Council

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

1942

President

C. S. Fox, Esq., D.Sc., M.I.Min.E., F.G.S., F.N.I., F.R.A.S.B.

Vice-Presidents

Sir John Lort-Williams, Kt., K.C.

The Hon'ble Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law.

S. K. Chatterji, Esq., M.A., D.Lit., F.R.A.S.B.

Meghnad Saha, Esq., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.N.I., F.R.A.S.B.

Secretaries and Treasurer

General Secretary:—S. L. Hora, Esq., D.Sc., F.Z.S., F.R.S.E., F.N.I., F.R.A.S.B.

Treasurer:—C. W. Gurner, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S.

Philological Secretary:—Nalinaksha Dutt, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

Joint Philological Secretary:—M. Mahfuz-ul Haq, Esq., M.A.

Natural History Secretaries:—
- Biology:—Kalipada Biswas, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.E.
- Physical Science:—K. N. Bagchi, Esq., B.Sc., M.B., F.I.C., D.T.M., F.N.I.

Anthropological Secretary:—H. C. Chakladar, Esq., M.A.

Philosophical Secretary:—Vanamali Vedantatirtha, Esq., M.A.

Historical and Archæological Secretary:—Kalidas Nag, Esq., M.A., D.Lit.

Medical Secretary:—J. B. Grant, Esq., M.D., M.P.H., F.A.P.H.A.

Library Secretary:—R. C. Majumdar, Esq., M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B.

Other Members of Council

S. C. Law, Esq., M.A., B.L., Ph.D., F.Z.S., M.B.O.U., F.N.I.

M. Z. Siddiqi, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. A. Edgley, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, J.P.

L. R. Fawcus, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

PRIVILEGES OF ORDINARY MEMBERS

(*a*) To be present and vote at all General Meetings, which are held on the first Mond in each month except in September and October.

(*b*) To propose and second candidates for Ordinary Membership.

(*c*) To introduce visitors at the Ordinary General Meetings and to the grounds and pub rooms of the Society during the hours they are open to members.

(*d*) To have personal access to the Library and other public rooms of the Society, a to examine its collections.

(*e*) To take out books, plates, and manuscripts from the Library.

(*f*) To receive *gratis* copies of the *Journal*, *Year-book* and *Memoirs* of the Society.

(*g*) To fill any office in the Society on being duly elected thereto.

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.
Volume VIII, 1942.
ARTICLE No. 5.

A few Types of Sedentary Games prevalent in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District in Assam.

By CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

The object of this short note is to describe four types of sedentary games not noticed previously by any scholar and collected by me in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district in Assam. Among them the name of one cannot be traced out while the other games are known as *Pam pait*, *Bam blang beh khla*, and *Tule paid.*

Game No. 1.

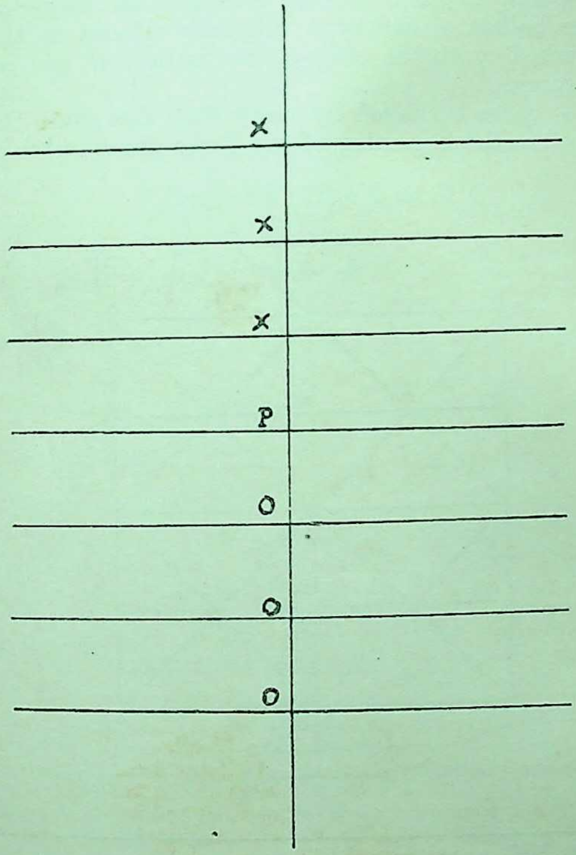


FIG. 1.

The game No. 1 is learnt at Mawryngkneng, a place approximately sixteen miles away from Shillong. Its rule is as follows. It may be played by one man or more than that number. If one man plays it, then it forms a kind of *solitaire*. It is played by six ballets, three belonging to each type. Thus two types of ballets are required for playing it. At the beginning of the game three ballets of each type are placed in the cross-points marked × and O and the central cross-point marked P is kept vacant. Then one of the two ballets belonging to two different types and which are nearest to the central vacant cross-point marked P is shifted to this vacant cross-point. In the movement one ballet belonging to one type is shifted to a cross-point by jumping over a cross-point occupied by one ballet of another type or may occupy the next cross-point if it is vacant. Ballets of two different types are alternately shifted. The whole idea of playing this game is to shift the ballets originally placed in the cross-points marked × to the cross-points marked O and also the ballets originally placed in the cross-points marked O to the cross-points marked ×. In this way the player who can shift three ballets of one type originally placed in the cross-points marked × to the cross-points marked O and *vice versa* wins the game.

If this game is played by more than one man, then it is decided before the beginning of the game the number of times

Game No. 2. Pam pait.[1]

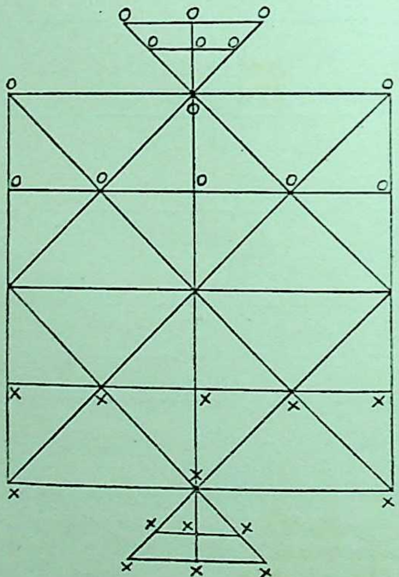


FIG. 2.

---

[1] The literal meaning of the term *Pam pait* is 'to cut a crowd'.

for which the ballets should be shifted. The player who shifts the ballets the required number of times wins the game.

The game No. 2 which has been learnt at Jowai is played by two men, each holding 14 ballets marked × and O in his possession. The rule of this game is as follows. One player starts the game and moves one of his ballets from one cross-point to another and takes hold of the ballet of the other man if the cross-point next to it is vacant. In this way the player who can capture all the ballets of the opponent wins the game.

There is similarity between this game and another game known as *Ahtarah gutti* in the United Provinces,[1] as *Athara-gutiala teora* in the Central Provinces,[2] as *Lum Pusri* or *Sipahi Kat* in the Teesta Valley below Darjeeling in Bengal,[3] as *Mughal-Pathan* in the Twenty-four Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly districts in Bengal,[4] and as *Sholaguti Mangalapata* in Vikrampur in East Bengal[5] so far as the rule of the game is concerned; but the main point of difference for which this game is considered

Game No. 3. Bam blang beh khla.[6]

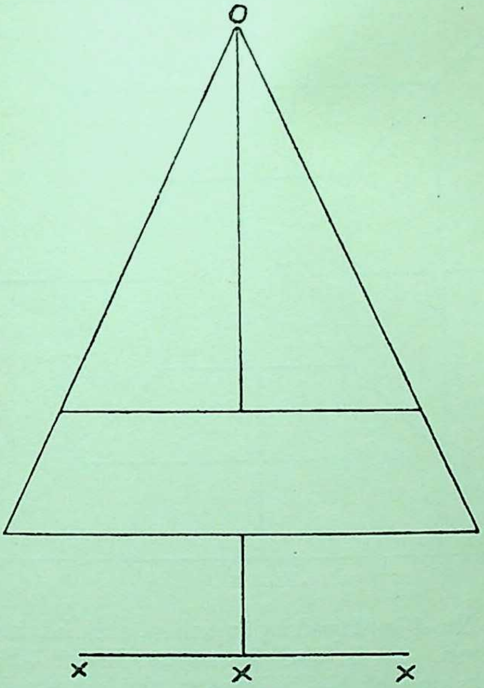


FIG. 3

---

[1] *Journ. Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, New Series, vol. II, pp. 121-22.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. XX, p. 164.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. XXIX, p. 10.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. XXIX, pp. 168-69.

[5] *Sāhitya-Parishad-Patrikā*, vol. XIV, pp. 239-40.

[6] The term *Bam blang beh khla* literally means 'to eat goat, to drive tiger'.

as a new type is that the diagram used for the game under description is different from that of the game mentioned above.

The game No. 3 is also learnt at Jowai. Its rule is as follows. It is played by two men, one having the ballet marked O and called *khla* (i.e., tiger) and the other having three ballets marked × and called *blang* (i.e., goat). Thus altogether four ballets are required in this game. At the beginning of the game one of the players moves his ballet. In this game the player holding the ballet marked O captures the ballets marked × of the opponent player or the player holding the ballets marked × imprisons the ballet marked O. In other words, either the tiger eats the goats or the tiger is imprisoned by the goats. In this game the tiger can capture the goats if the cross-point next to one cross-point occupied by a goat is vacant. It is a unique type of game as no game of the tiger and the goats variety which has been described up till now has a diagram like that used for this game.

Game No. 4. Tule paid.[1]

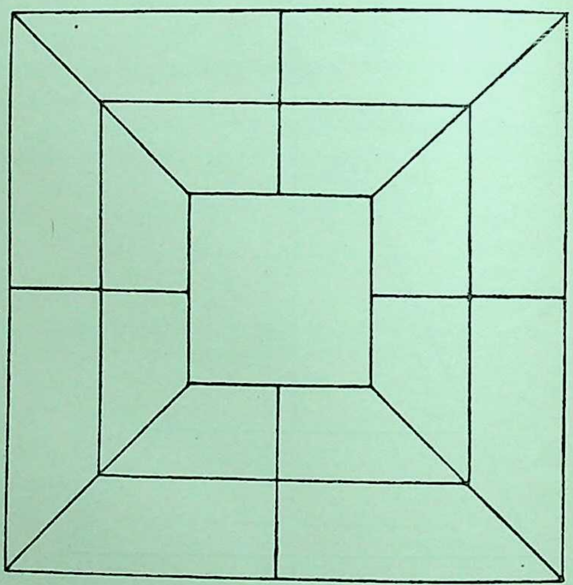


FIG. 4

The game No. 4 is played by two men, each having 12 ballets in his possession. It is also learnt at Jowai. Each player alternately puts one of his ballets on the cross-points, trying to get three pieces along one line while preventing his opponent from doing so. Whenever a player is successful in making three of his own pieces in one line, he captures one of the pieces belonging to his opponent. After all the pieces have been put on the cross-points, the players begin to move their pieces alternately and along the lines, having always in view the two-fold object outlined above. The player who captures all the pieces of his adversary wins the game.

---

[1] The term *Tule paid* means 'to put ballets along ballets'.

The rule and diagram of this game is similar to a game called *Bara-guti-pait-pait* prevalent in Vikrampur in East Bengal.[1] This shows that a similar game is prevalent in Bengal and Assam under different names.

---

[1] *Sāhitya-Parishad-Patrikā*, vol. XIV, pp. 241-42.

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.
Volume VIII, 1942.
ARTICLE No. 6.

A Thousand Tibetan Proverbs and Wise Sayings with short explanations of obscure Phrases.

By REV. J. GERGAN.

English Translation by REV. WALTER ASBOE.

(*Communicated by Dr. S. K. Chatterji.*)

གཏམ་དཔེ་དང་དོན་འགྲེལ།

ཀ

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༡ ཀ་ཙོན་འཕེལ་ན། ཟས་ཚོན་འཕེལ། ཞེས་པ་ནི། མཛུབ་མོར་ཀ་ཙོན་བྱུ་བའི་སྐ་ཁ་འཐོན་ན་རྟགས་རྒྱལ་བ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

1 The larger the sore, the greater the feast. (A sore on the finger is said to be a good omen.)

༢ ཀན་ཛ་བས་མགོ་ལ། ཞེས་པ་ནི་ས་བུ་བཀའ་བློན་ཞིག་གིས་རང་གི་ཞབས་ཕྱི་ཀན་ཛ་བྱ་བ་ལ། སང་སྔ་དྲོ་བ་མགོར་འགྲོ་དགོས་ཡོད་བྱས་པས། དེས་འགྲོ་དགོས་པའི་དོན་མ་དྲི་བར་སྔ་དྲོ་བ་མགོ་མཁར་ལ་སོང་བ་དང་། མཁར་དཔོན་གྱིས་དེ་དོན་མ་ཤེས་པར་འོངས་པ་བརྟགས་ཏེ། འོ། བཀའ་བློན་ལ་མིག་མངས་ཀྱི་རྡོ་བ་འདི་དགོས་སོ་ཟེར་ནས། དེའི་རྒྱབ་ཏུ་མིག་མངས་ཀྱི་རྡོ་བ་ཞི་བ་དེ་བཀལ་ནས་ས་བུར་བཏང་བས། དོན་ཇི་ཡིན་མ་ཤེས་པར་ལས་སམ་གཏམ་ལབ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར་རོ།

2 Kanja to Basgo.

༣ ཀོར་ཆག་གིས་མི་གསོ། ཕོར་པ་གས་ཆག་གི་སེར་ག་བག་ལེབ་དང་བཟན་ལྷ་བུས་བཀག་དགོས་པས། ཕོར་པ་གསོན་ཏེ་ལས་ཆག་པོ་ཡོད་པར་ཟས་འཚེབ་ཐོབ་པའི་དཔེའོ།

3 A broken cup nourishes a man.

༤ བཀལ་བཀལ་པའི་རྒྱགས་དང་། བསྟུབ་བསྟུབ་པའི་གཏམ། ཞེས་པ་ནི། ཅིས་ཐག་རིང་ཕོར་འགྲོ་མི་ལ་ཁྱིམ་ནས་རྒྱགས་མང་ཙམ་བཀལ་ནའང་མི་ལྷུང་བ་ལྟར། རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་ཤེས་སོ་མེད་པ་ལ་གཏམ་ཙམ་བསྟུབ་ནའང་དེས་མགོ་མི་ཆོད་པའི་དཔེའོ།

4 Much food loaded, much talk exchanged.

༥ བཀའ་འགྱུར་ལ་ཤོག་ལྷན། མི་ཤེས་རྒྱ་ཆུང་བས་ཤེས་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བར་ཁྲིལ་བའམ་སྐྱོན་འཛུགས་དུས་ཟེར།

5 To patch paper on the Kangyur.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༦ རྐོ་རྫོངས་ཆུའི་འཁྱིལ་ས། ཁ་དམན་གཏམ་གྱི་འཁྱིལ་ས། སྙིང་ཁར་ཆུ་མི་འཁྱིལ་བར་འོག་ཏུ་ཆུ་འཁྱིལ་བ་ལྟར། དབུལ་ལ་ཁ་དམན་པར་སུས་སྨད་ཀྱང་། དེས་ལན་ལྡོག་མི་ནུས་པས། ཁ་དྲག་དང་ཁ་དམན་སྟུར་དུས་དང་། ཁ་དམན་ལ་ཚོད་བཅད་དུས་ཟེར།

6 Pits for collecting water, the simple-minded for receiving provocation.

༧ རྐང་གདོང་མི་ལ་མ་སྟན། རྐང་མཐིལ་དང་ལྷམ་མཐིལ་བསྟན་ནས་མ་སྡོད་ཅིག། དེ་ནི་གཞན་ལ་སྨད་ཅིང་མིའི་གདོང་དང་རང་གི་རྐང་མཐིལ་འདྲ་འདྲ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན་སྙམ་དུས་ཟེར།

7 Don't display the sole of your foot to others.

༨ རྐང་འོག་གི་བལ་ལྷུད། རྐང་འོག་ཏུ་བལ་ལྷུད་ཡོད་ནའང་དེ་ལ་སྙིག་མི་རྒྱབ་ཀྱི། བལ་ལྷུད་རང་མང་དུ་ལྷུད་ལྷུད་འགྲོ་བ་ལྟར། སྐྱབས་ལྡན་པས་ཉམས་སྐྱབས་ཆུང་བའི་དགྲ་ལང་དུས་ཟེར།

8 Inferior *wool* underneath one's feet.

༩ རྐང་མཐིལ་ལ་ཉི་མ་མི་ཤར། ལས་གཞོན་གིས་སར་བསྡད་དེ་ཉི་མ་ལྡེ་ལོང་མི་འབྱུང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

9 He has no time to let the sun shine on his soles.

༡༠ རྐུན་བྲེ་གང་ཅས། ལས་མི་རུང་བ་ཕག་ནས་ཡང་ཡང་བྱས་པའི་མཐར་འཁེད་ཚད་པ་ཤོག་དུས་ཟེར།

10 The measure of his thefts is full.

༡༡ རྐུན་མ་གཤགས་མགོ་ལ་ཐེང་སྡེ་གཤགས་བཏང་ཅས། སྐྱོན་ཡོད་པས་རང་ངོས་མེད་པ་ལྟར་བྱས་ཏེ། ཁྲིམས་དཔོན་ལྟར་ཕར་ལ་ངར་ངར་ཤུགས་ཤུགས་གཏོང་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

11 The thieving judge rose to the rank of a Chief Justice.

༡༢ རྐུན་མ་གཅིག་ལ་ཉེས་པ་བརྒྱ། རྐུ་མཁན་གཅིག་རང་ཡིན་རུང་། ནོར་གྱི་བདག་པོས་དེས་མ་བརྐུས་སམ། ཆེ་གེ་མོས་མ་བརྐུས་སམ་བསམ་ནས། རྐུན་མ་ལས་ནོར་བདག་གིས་ཉེས་པ་མང་པོ་སོག་པའི་དཔེར།

12 For one theft a hundred people are blamed.

༡༣ རྐུན་མ་ཁ་མ་ཁ་སྐྱང་ལ་མི་བསད། རྐུན་མ་སོགས་ལས་ངན་བྱེད་པ་གཡག་སྐྱ་ཆ་དུས་མི་ཡང་གསོད་པའི་དཔེར།

13 In his perplexity a thief killed the man.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༡༤ རྐུན་མགོ་ཐུར་ལ། སྤྲང་མགོ་གྱེན་ལ། སྤྱོང་མོ་པ་མགོ་ཆོད་ཀྱི། རྐུན་པོ་ཐུར་དུ་འགྲོ་བ་
ཡིན།

14 The thief is reduced in circumstances, the beggar is exalted.

༡༥ རྐུ་ཤེས་ཏེ་སྦྲ་མ་ཤེས། ནོར་རྐུ་ཐུབ་ནས། དེ་སྦྲ་མ་ཤེས་པ་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

15 He knew how to steal, but knew not how to conceal his theft.

༡༦ རྐུན་མིག་ས་ལ། ནོངས་ཡོད་པས་མགོ་འདེགས་མི་ཐུབ་པའི་དཔེར།

16 The eye of the thief is towards the ground.

༡༧ རྐུན་མིག་ཐོག་ལ། རྐུ་སྙིང་ཡོད་པས་ཕྱོགས་ཚང་མ་ལ་རྐུ་བྱ་འཚོལ་བའི་རག་རིག་ཅན་ལ་
ཟེར།

17 The eye of the thief is towards the ceiling.

༡༨ རྐྱག་པའི་ས་བཀབ། ལས་ཞུན་དག་མི་བྱེད་པར་ཆག་ཆོག་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

18 To cover excrement with earth.

༡༩ རྐྱག་པའི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ལྟང་པ། མི་ཐུ་བའི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་དེ་ལས་ཐུ་བ་འབྱུང་མེད་པ་ལང་དུས་སུ་
ཟེར།

19 Excrement takes sides with dung.

༢༠ རྐྱོང་ཙེའི་གཡོག་པོ་མུན་འདྲིག། གཞན་ལ་གདམས་ངག་བཟང་པོ་གཏོང་བའི་མིའི་ཁྱིམ་དང་
མཛའ་བོར་བསླབ་བྱ་མི་གཏོང་བའམ་དེའི་ཉེ་འཁོར་པ་རྣམས་མུན་པའི་ནང་ལུས་པ་ལ་
ཟེར།

20 It is dark beneath the lamp.

༢༡ སྐུད་རིང་ལམ་ལ་ཟད། སྐུད་པ་རིང་མོ་འཁྱུར་ནས་འཚེམ་ན། སྐུད་པ་ཟད་དེ་ཆད་པས་སོ།

21 The long thread came to an end on the path.

༢༢ སྐོར་བསྐོར་ཏེ་དཀོར་དཔོན་འོད་ལྡན་ཚེ་རིང་གི་མགོ་ལ། ལྷ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་མ་ལག་ཡོག་མཁན་
ཀྱིས་ལྷུད་མོ་སྟོན་དུས་སུ་པ་རི་ཞིག་གི་ནང་ནས་ཐལ་བ་བླུག་ཅིང་གོང་ལྷར་རྫོད། གང་
ལ་ཞེ་ན། སྟོན་དུས་དེ་དག་གི་མེས་པོར་དཀོར་དཔོན་འོད་ལྡན་ཚེ་རིང་གིས་ངན་མང་
བྱས་པས། ད་ལྟ་ཡང་དེའི་མིང་བརྗོད་ནས་ཐལ་བ་འདྲ་སྐུའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་བླུག་པས་ན། སྐྱོན་
ཐོད་བསྐུས་ནས་མི་གཅིག་ལ་འགེལ་དུས་དཔེ་དེ་ཟེར་རོ།

22 Careering round and round, they laid the blame on Od Ldan Tsering the head-shepherd.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༢༣ རྐྱང་གི་རྫ་མ་ལ་ཕྱེ་བཏུམ་མཁན། རྐྱང་གི་རྫ་མ་ཆོད་ཆོད་ནང་ཕྱེ་མི་འཁད། འཁད་སྲིད་ནའང་དེ་དཀྲུ་བས་འཐོ། དེ་ལྟར་བསམ་མནོ་མེད་པའི་མི་གཡག་རྐྱ་ལྟྲ་རོ་ཕད་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

23 He wrapped up flour in the tail of a wild ass.

༢༤ རྐྱན་མ་ཤི་སྐྱོན་ཤི། སེན་མོའི་བར་གྱི་ཤིག་ཤི། ཁ་དྲག་ལ་སྐྱོན་མི་འཕོག་པར། ཁ་དྲག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་ན་ཁ་དམན་འཕམ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

24 The beer pot was not destroyed but the fault perished; the louse died between the nails of two fingers. (When the weak are crushed in the disputes of influential people.)

༢༥ སྐྱིད་སྡུག་མི་ལ། འཛེར་པ་ཤིང་ལ། མི་ལ་སྡུག་འཕོག་དུས་སུ་སེམས་གསོ་ཕྱིར་ཟེར་རོ།

25 Joy and sorrow for man; and knots for trees.

༢༦ སྐྱིད་དེ་སྡུག་ཉོ་མཁན། སྐྱིད་པོ་ཕངས་ནས་སྡུག་པོའི་བྱ་བའི་ནང་འཛུག་པ་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

26 Whilst enjoying comfort, he bought misery upon himself.

༢༧ སྐར་མ་སྨིན་བདུན་ལན་ཆགས་ཅན། བྱང་ནས་ཤར་ཏེ་བྱང་ལ་རྒས།

27 The unlucky Great-bear (star) rises in the north, and sets in the north.

༢༨ སྐྱིད་པོ་རང་གིས་མ་བཙོལ་ན། སྡུག་པོ་གཞན་གྱིས་སྟེར་ཡོང་། རང་སྐྱིད་པའི་གྲལ་རང་གིས་མ་བྱས་ན། གཞན་མས་མི་བྱེད་པས། རང་གྲལ་ཙོས་ཟེར་རོ།

28 He who seeks not his own good, will be troubled by others.

༢༩ སྐྱེ་ལུགས་གཅིག་ལ་ཤི་ལུགས་བརྒྱ། ནད་དང་རྐྱེན་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཤི་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

29 One way of being born, and a hundred ways of dying.

༣༠ སྐྱེ་ན་བུ་གཅིག། ཞིམ་ན་ཆང་གང་། ཕྲུ་གུ་ཉ་ལ་ཉོ་ལེ་མང་པོ་བས་ཕྲུ་གུ་མགོ་ཆོད་གཅིག་རྒྱལ་བའི་དཔེར།

30 The birth of one son is enough, and one cup of delicious beer is ample.

༣༡ སྐྱེ་ཤི་གྲོས་ལ་མ་ཞིང་། སྐྱེ་བ་དང་འཆི་བ་དྲན་ན་གྲོས་བྱེད་མི་ནུས་པས། མ་འབྱུང་བ་དང་འདས་པའི་གཏམ་མ་དྲན་པར་གྲོས་བྱེད་དགོས་སླ་བཟོ།

31 Do not deliberate about birth and death.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༣༢ སྐྱེས་ཚད་བུ་དང་། བསགས་ཚད་ནོར། ཞིད་བུ་རང་མི་སྐྱེ་བར་བུ་མོ་ཡང་སྐྱེ་བ་ལྟར། བསགས་མཁན་ཐམས་ཅད་ནོར་དུ་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

32 All who are born are not sons; all that is acquired is not wealth.

༣༣ སྐྱེས་པའི་ཤོད་པ། ཤི་དུར་ཁུང་། ཆུང་དུས་ཀྱི་ལོབས་ཤི་བའི་བར་དུ་ལུས་པའི་དཔེར།

33 Habits from one's birth follow one to the grave.

༣༤ སྐྲ་གཅིག་ནས་འཐེན་པ། མགོ་གཡོམ། སྐྲ་གཅིག་ནས་འཐེན་ན་མགོ་ཧྲིལ་པོ་གཡོམ་གཡོམ་བྱེད་པ་ལྟར། མི་གཅིག་ལ་ཅི་ཞིག་ཟེར་ན་དེའི་ཕྱོགས་པ་ཀུན་ལ་འཕོག་པས་སོ།

34 The head moves when only one hair is pulled.

༣༥ རྐུན་མ་ཡང་ལོག་གིས་འཕུང་། ནད་པ་ཟས་ལོག་གིས་འཕུང་། རྐུན་མ་སྐྱར་ཡང་རྐུར་འོང་བས་འཕུང་བ་ལྟར་ནད་པས་འཕོག་པའི་ཟས་ཟོས་ནས་ནད་ལོག་རྒྱབ་བོ།

35 A thief is ruined by returning—a patient by wrong diet.

༣༦ རྐུན་སེམས་པ་ལ་ཉེ་རིང་མེད། རྐུ་འདོད་པ་ལ་ཉེ་རིང་དང་རང་གཞན་མེད་དེ་སྤུ་ལས་ཐོབ་ཀྱང་རྐུའོ།

36 He who desires to steal does not regard near or distant relations.

༣༧ རྐུན་མ་གཡག་མགོ་ལ་ཞོན་ཏེ། ལུག་མགོ་ལ་གཞགས་གཏང་ཅེས། རྐུན་མ་གཞགས་མགོ་ལ་བེང་སྟེ་གཞགས་གཏང་ཅེས་དང་དོན་འདྲའོ།

37 The thief mounted the head of the Yak, and judgement came forth upon the head of the sheep.

ཁ

༣༨ ཁ་ཁ་ར། སྙིང་ཨ་ར། ཁ་ནི་ཀ་ར་ལྟར་མངར་མོ་ལ། སྙིང་ནང་གནོད་སེམས་ཡོད་པའི་མི་ཁ་འཛམ་ལ་ཟེར།

38 A mouth like sugar, and a heart like a saw.

༣༩ ཁ་ཁོ་མགས་མ་བཅོ། གཏམ་ལབ་དགོས་ཡོད་སར་ཁ་རོག་པའི་མི་ལ། དངུལ་ཁྲུག་ལྟར་ཁ་མ་བཙུམ་པར་གཏམ་ཅོས་ཤིག་གི་དོན་ཡིན།

39 Don't shut your mouth like a purse.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༤༠ ཁ་གང་ངེ་གཏམ་ཟེར་ར་ལ། གྲལ་གང་ངེ་མི་ལ་ལྟོས། མི་ཁྲོད་དུ་མི་གཅིག་ལ་ལབ་ནའང་ཡར་བསམ་མར་བསམ་བཏང་ནས། གཞན་ལ་འཕོག་ཏུ་མ་བཙུག་པར་གཏམ་ལབ་དགོས་ཟེར་བའོ།

40 Observe the whole row of people when about to utter a mouthful of speech.

༤༡ ཁ་གཅེས་པ་ལ་ཏུ་ཏུ་ལ་གྲི། ཁ་ནས་ཉེ་ཉེ་འདྲ་བྱེད་ཅིང་ཕག་ནས་གནོད་སྐྱེལ་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

41 Whilst uttering endearing speech, he cut his throat.

༤༢ ཁ་ཆད་དང་བུ་ལོན། ཁ་ཆད་བྱས་ཟིན་པ་དང་དེ་ནི་བུ་ལོན་འདྲ་བས། ཁ་ཆད་སྲུང་དགོས་ལ་ཟེར།

42 The promise became a debt.

༤༣ ཁ་ཆེ་ལ་གཏམ་དང་ཚག་མ་ལ་ཆུ། ཁ་ཆེའི་སྙིང་ནང་གསང་གཏམ་མི་འཁད་པའི་དོན་ཡིན།

43 Confiding a secret to a Kashmiri is like pouring water through a sieve.

༤༤ ཁ་ཆེའི་ནོར་ལ་ཟོ་ལ། གཞན་གྱི་ནོར་ལུགས་མེད་ཟ་བ་དང་འཐུང་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

44 To make delicious food with the wealth of a Kashmiri.

༤༥ ཁྭ་ཏའི་ཀོའག་དང་ཅུང་ཀའི་ཧིང། ལྷད་མོར་ལྷ་དད་ཆེ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

45 To go where crows and jackdaws caw.

༤༦ ཁ་ཏིག་པེག་མ་མྱུང་ན། མངར་མྱུང་པེག་མི་ཡོང་། བར་དོ་ཞིག་མ་མྱུང་ན། སྐྱིད་པོ་ཞིག་མི་འབྱུང་བ་ཡིན།

46 You cannot have the sweet without the bitter.

༤༧ ཁྭ་ཏ་ཤ་འཁྱེར། འབེ་ད་གཏམ་འཁྱེར། ཇི་ལྟར་ཁྭ་ཏ་ལ་ཤ་ཐོབ་ན་ལེམ་ཁུར་འཁྱེར་བ་ལྟར། འབེ་ད་ལ་གཏམ་ཞིག་ཚོར་ན། ཁྱིམ་ནས་ཁྱིམ་དུ་འཁྱེར་ཞིང་འཚོ་བ་འཚོལ་བོ་ཟེར་བའོ།

47 Crows carry off flesh, and *musicians* are tale-bearers (i.e. musicians being beggars, and liable to carry stories about).

༤༨ ཁྭ་ཏ་ཁྲུས་ཏེ་དཀར་པོ་མི་ཆ། ནོངས་ཅན་ཇི་ཙམ་དུ་ནོངས་མེད་འདྲ་བྱེད་ཀྱང་། ནོངས་ཅན་དུ་ལུས་སོ།

48 Wash the crow, but he will not become white.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༤༩ ཁ་དམན་གྱི་སྐབ་སྟོབ་པོ་སྔོན་ལ། འཁྲུད་མེད་པས་རང་གི་ལས་གྲལ་སྔོན་དུ་བྱེད་དགོས་
ཟེར།

49 The humble are quick to order their affairs for themselves.

༥༠ ཁ་ནས་མུ་ཏིག་འཁྲོལ་ལི་རྫོགས་པ། ཁ་ནས་མུ་ཏིག་འགྲིལ་རྫོགས་པ་ལྟར། ཁ་བཙུམ་
ནས་གཏཾ་མི་ལབ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

50 Hesitate to drop pearls from your mouth.

༥༡ ཁ་བཅད་དེ་སྣ་ལ་ལྷན་པ། ཕན་ཐོགས་པའི་ནོར་ཞིག་བཞིག་ནས་ཕན་མི་ཐོགས་པ་བྱེད་ན་
ཟེར།

51 Slicing his mouth, he patched his nose.

༥༢ ཁ་བཤད་ཆུའི་ལྦུ་བ་ཡིན། ལག་ལེན་གསེར་གྱི་ཐིགས་པ་ཡིན། ཁ་བཤད་པས་ལག་ལེན་
ནི་ལྷག་པར་ལེགས་པས། ཁ་བཤད་དང་མཚུངས་པའི་སྦྱོང་པ་སྦྱོང་ཅིག་ཟེར།

52 Speech is like froth, experience like beads of gold.

༥༣ ཁ་མི་ཚུགས་ལ་མྱང་མི་ཐོབ།

53 He who cannot restrain his tongue will have nothing to taste.

༥༤ ཁ་མིག་ལ་ཁུ་ཚུར། ཁ་མིག་ལ་སྨུལ་ཐུག་རྒྱབ་པ་ལྟར་དུ་སྐྱོན་མེད་པ་ལ་དབང་ཆོས་ཀྱིས་
སྐྱོན་འགེལ་དུས་ཟེར།

54 To strike one's eyes and face with one's fists.

༥༥ ཁ་རོག་པ་ལ་བདེ་བ་ཐོབ། གཏམ་མང་ན་འཛིང་འཁྲབ་འབྱུང་བས། ཁ་རོག་བསྡད་ན་
འཁྲུག་པ་མེད་པར་ལུས་ཟེར།

55 He gets peace who is silent.

༥༦ ཁ་རོག་འདུག་ག་སང་ཅུང་མ་སྨུར། ཁ་རོག་ཐུག་ཐུན་ནེར་སྡོད་པ་བས་ཧེ་ཞིག་ལབ་
པའམ་ཟ་བ་ལེགས་ཟེར་བའོ།

56 Masticate a turnip rather than be silent.

༥༧ ཁ་ལ་ཟ་རྒྱུ་མེད་པར་སྣ་ལ་ཚ་རྒྱུ། ཕན་རྒྱུ་མེད་པའི་མིའི་དོན་དུ་བར་དོ་འབྱུང་དུས་ཟེར།

57 Nothing to eat, but only pain in the nose.

༥༨ ཁ་ལ་མར་ཁག་ལ་བསྐུས་ཀན། ཁ་འཇམ་པོའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

58 His mouth is smeared with fresh butter.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༥༩ ཁ་ཧྲོར་རེ་ནས་གཏམ་ཧྲོར་རེ། གསང་གཏམ་མི་འཁད་པའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

59 From the cracked mouth issue cracked words.

༦༠ ཁ་ལག་པས་ཉོས་ཏེ་མེད་དེ། མགོ་པིག་མོ་མི་དགུ་ཁ་མེད། ཁ་དང་ལག་པ་འགལ་ཏེ་
མགོ་དང་པུས་མོ་ལ་དགུར་དགོས་བྱུང་བས། བྱ་བ་འཐལ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

60 For what one buys with the mouth and hands, one must bend one's head and knees. For what he purchased through speech and deed, he was obliged to go down on his head and knees.

༦༡ ཁ་དམན་ལྷས་སྐྱབ། མི་ཚོར་མེད་དང་དབང་མེད་ཅིག་ནད་དང་བར་ཆད་སོགས་ལས་ཐར་
ན་ཟེར།

61 The humble are preserved by the gods.

༦༢ ཁ་དྲོན་མོ་ལ་ལྷུངས་པོ་གྲང་མོ་གཡབ་ཅས། མི་ཞིག་ལས་མི་ཐོབ་པ་ཞེས་དུས་གཞེར་ན་
ཟེར།

62 To cause someone to blow a cold wind into his warm mouth.

༦༣ ཁང་པ་ལ་གསེར་གྱི་གྲི་གུ་དགུ་ཡོད། དགོས་དུས་སུ་མེད་པར་ངའི་ཁང་པ་ན་འདི་སོགས་
ཡོད་ཟེར་ན་དཔེ་འདི་ཟེར།

63 There are nine golden pocket knives in the home.

༦༤ ཀྱོ་དྲུ་ཀྱོ་དྲུ་མ་ཟེར། དྲུད་དྲུད་ཅོས། དཀོཾག་རང་ཟེར་གྱིན་ཆོན་ལ་མ་སྡོད་པར་ལས་
ཡང་ཅོས་ཟེར་བཙོ།

64 Don't cry out 'Oh God, Oh God', but do your job.

༦༥ ཁྱི་ལ་ནོར་ཡོད་ད་དང་། ཁྲི་ལ་ཁྱི་ལུ་ཡོད་ད་ཙོགས། གཞན་ལ་མི་ཕན་པའི་མི་ཞིང་
ལ་ནོར་ཡོད་ན་ཟེར་རོ།

65 For him to possess wealth is as if a dog had fine fleece.

༦༦ ཁུར་ཚན་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལའང་མི་སྒྲུང་། བག་ལེབ་དྲོན་མོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལའང་མི་ཐོབ་པས། བག་ལེབ་
དྲོན་མོ་ལ་ཐོབ་དུས་ཟེར་རོ།

66 Even the king could not get hot bread.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༦༧ ཁང་ཏུ་ཁྱུ་ཏུ། ཤ་ཁྱུ་ཏུ་མར་ཁྱུ་ཏུ། ཁང་བུར་སྡོད་པའི་ཕ་མའམ་ཁང་ཆུང་པ་ཁྲལ་ཐུད་མེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

67 Huts and cottages are hut of meat and cottage of butter. (Of old people who according to Ladakhi custom, when a son gets married, retire to small apartments of their own.)

༦༨ ཁབ་ཀྱི་མལ་ལ་འདེབས། ཁབ་བཙུག་པའི་ལན་དུ་འདེབས་འཛུག་པའི་ཚུལ་གྱིས་དགྲ་ལན་ལེན་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

68 To use an awl instead of a needle.

༦༩ ཁམ་གཅིག་གིས་སྲོག་སྐྱལ་ཅེས། རང་ལ་གནོད་པའི་ཁ་ཟས་ཞིམ་པོ་ཤེས་ཏེ་ཟ་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

69 To lose one's life through taking a mouthful of meal.

༧༠ ཁམ་པ་བརྒྱ་ཤི་ནའང་། ཁམ་ཕྲུག་སྟོང་། བརྒྱུད་མང་ཡོད་པ་ལས་མི་རེ་ཤི་ན་ཟེར།

70 Though a hundred Khampas die, there are still a thousand children of Khampas.

༧༡ ཁའི་ནང་ལ་མར་གཏང་ནའང་མི་བཞུ་མཁན། མི་དྲང་པོ་གཞན་ལ་གནོད་པའི་ཚིག་མི་ཟེར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

71 Butter would not melt in his mouth.

༧༢ ཁའི་དཔང་པོ་ལ་ལྕེ། རང་གིས་རང་ལའམ། རང་གི་མིས་རང་ལ་གནོད་པའི་གཏམ་བྱེད་དམ་དཔང་པོ་གཏོང་ན་ཟེར།

72 His tongue bears witness against his mouth.

༧༣ ཁའི་ནང་ལ་མི་ཤོང་ཅེས་སེ་ཁམ་བུ་མ་རྒྱང་། ཚོད་ལས་འཕལ་བའི་ཉམ་པ་ཆེན་མོ་མ་བྱེད་ཟེར་བའོ།

73 Don't take a bite (morsel) too large for your mouth.

༧༤ ཁའི་ནང་ལ་ཟན་ཡོངས་ཏེ། ལྕེ་དང་འཕུལ་ཅེས། ནོར་རམ་ལས་ཞིག་ཐོབ་ནས་མི་དགོས་ཟེར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

74 He thrust out with his tongue the food which came to his mouth.

༧༥ ཁའི་སང་མིག་ཆེའ། མི་ཧམ་སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ཟེར།

75 His eyes are larger than his mouth.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༧༦ ཁལ་གཅིག་ལ་ཚོན་པའི་ཕབས། གཏམ་ལན་ཆ་ལ་འགོད་སང་ལབ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

76 Hops sufficient for a bushel.

༧༧ ཁྱི་གུ་ལ་མིག་ཡོད་ན། རྒྱལ་བུ་ལ་ཙམ་ལྟ་ལྟ། ཁྱི་གུས་རྒྱལ་བུར་ཙམ་དགའ་ལྟ་ནུས་པས། མ་ལྟ་ཟེར་བའི་ལན་དུ་ཟེར།

77 If pups have eyes they may look at the king to repletion.

༧༨ ཁྱི་གུ་དང་ཕྲུ་གུ་ལ་ཙུག་བསླབ། ན་སོ་ཆུང་དུས་སུ་ཙུག་སློབ་ནའང་ཡོབས་སློ་བས། བྱིས་པ་ལ་སྐྱོད་ལུགས་སློབས་ཟེར་བ་འདྲའོ།

78 You can teach pups and children anything.

༧༩ ཁྱི་རྒན་ལ་སློག་རག། ཁྱི་རྒན་སོ་དུབ་པར་པགས་པ་རྙིང་པ་ཐོབ་ནའང་མི་ཕན་པ་ལྟར། རང་ལ་ཕན་མི་ཐོགས་པའི་དོན་ནམ་ནོར་སོག་པ་ལ་སྙིགས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

79 An old hide for an old dog.

༨༠ ཁྱི་ཁྱོད་རང་གི་འཐམ་ཚུལ་མན། ང་ལ་གཏར་ཀ་བཏང་མཁན་ཚོགས་སོང་། ཁྲག་གཏར་དགོས་ཡོད་པའི་མི་ཞིག་ལ་ཁྱིས་འཐམས་པས་དེ་འདྲ་སྨྲས་པས། གཞན་གྱིས་གནོད་བསྐྱལ་བ་དེ་ཕྱུར་ཕན་ན་ཟེར།

80 Oh dog, it is not reasonable for you to bite me, but it did me good to bleed.

༨༡ ཁྱི་དཀར་པོའང་ཁྱི། ཁྱི་ནག་པོའང་ཁྱི། ཆོས་བཟང་ཡོད་པའི་ཁ་འཆོས་པ་དང་ཆོས་མེད་པ་གཉིས་གཅིག་པ་ཡིན་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

81 White or black, a dog is still a dog.

༨༢ ཁྱི་དང་བི་ལ། མི་གཉིས་རྒྱུན་དུ་འཛིང་འཐབ་བྱེད་ཀྱིན་སྡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

82 Like cat and dog.

༨༣ ཁྱི་དང་འགྲོན་ན། ཁྱི་རྐྱག་གདོང་ལ། ཁྱི་ལྟ་བུའི་མི་དང་འགྲོན་ན། རང་གི་ཁྲེལ་ཡང་ཤོར་བའི་དཔེའི།

83 If you associate with a dog, he will cast his excrement on your face.

༨༤ ཁྱི་ཕག་ཚང་གཅིག། རྟ་ལུག་ཟས་གཅིག། ཁྱི་ལོ་པ་དང་ཕག་ལོ་པ། རྟ་ལོ་པ་དང་ལུག་ལོ་པ་ཁྱོ་ཤུག་ཏུ་འཛོམ་པའི་དཔེར།

84 One bed for a dog and a pig; one manger for a horse and a sheep.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༨༥ ཁྱི་འཁོན་ལོ་དགུ། ཁྱིའི་ཚེ་ཚད་ལོ་དགུ་ཟེར་བས། ཁྱིས་ཤི་རིང་བར་དུ་འཁོན་འཁྱུར་བ་དང་། མི་འཁོན་ཅན་ལ་འང་ཟེར།

85 A dog's hatred lasts nine years.

༨༦ ཁྱི་ཉལ་ལ་ཐེར་ག། ཅབ་ཐེར་སྡོད་པའི་ཁྱིའམ་མི་ལ་འཚོག་པ་སྡིག་ན་ཟེར།

86 To hit a dog when he is lying down.

༨༧ ཁྱི་འགྲང་ས་ལ་སྒོ་བ་ཁམ་གཅིག། སྒོ་བ་ཁམ་བུ་གཅིག་གིས་ཁྱིའི་རེ་བ་རྫོགས་པ་ལྟར། མི་ལ་ཁ་ཟས་ཅུང་ཟད་སྦྱིན་ནའང་འཐད་པའི་དཔེར།

87 One morsel of food suffices for a dog.

༨༨ ཁྱི་ལ་དབང་ཐོབ་ན། གོ་ག་ཐལ་རྒྱབ་ཀྱིས་སྐང་། མི་ངན་ལ་དབང་ཐོབ་ན། རྣ་ཞིངས་དང་ཟིང་ངིལ་ཆེན་མོ་འབྱུང་ཟེར་བའོ།

88 A dog which gains the upper hand will cover thé hearth with dust.

༨༩ ཁྱི་ལྟོ་ལ་ཞག་མི་འཁད། མར་ཟོས་ནས་ཁྱི་སྐྱུག་པའམ། ཁ་ཟས་ཞིམ་པོ་མང་བྱུ་ཤིགས་པ་འཚོག་པའི་མིར་ཟེར།

89 The dog *could not retain* the grease in his stomach.

༩༠ ཁྱི་ལ་སྒལ་དང་འབེ་ད་ལ་གཤོལ། གང་ལས་ཀྱི་ཡོབས་མེད་པའི་མི་ལ་ལས་དེ་སྐྱོ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

90 A load for a dog, and a plough for a musician.

༩༡ ཁྱི་ལྟོ་ཆུས་སྐོང་། ཁྱི་ཕྲུག་སྣ་སིང་སིང་གཏོང་བའང་འགྲིག་པའི་དཔེར།

91 To fill the stomach of a dog with water.

༩༢ ཁྱི་ཁྱི་སྡོང་ནས་འབུད་ད་ཚོགས། བཏགས་པའི་ཁྱི་འབུད་པའམ། ལས་མི་ལམ་པ་ལས་དང་དབང་ལས་འབུད་དུས་ཟེར།

92 Like a dog, he broke away from his chain.

༩༣ ཁྱི་ལྕེ་སྨན། ཁྱིས་རང་གི་རྨ་ཁ་ལྕེ་དང་ལྡག་ནས་ཕན་པས་སོ།

93 A dog's tongue is his own cure.

༩༤ ཁྱི་ཤི་ཝ་ཤི་གད་པའི་གཡོག། ཁྱི་རོ་ཝ་རོ་གད་འོག་འཐེན་པ་ལྟར། ངའི་རོ་ལ་འང་ཅི་ཆ་ནའང་སོང་ཟེར་བའོ།

94 Bury dead dogs and foxes at the bottom of a cliff.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༩༥ ཁྱི་སོ་དང་ཁྱི་ཁླགས། ཁྱིས་སྐྱུག་དུས་རང་གི་མཆེ་བས་རང་གི་ཁ་ཁླགས་ལ་སོ་འདེབས་པ་ལྟར། ཁྱོ་ཤུག་རྒྱུན་དུ་འཐབ་ཀྱིན་སྡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

95 A dog's teeth bite into his own lips.

༩༦ ཁྱིས་ཝ་ལ། ཝས་ཛ་མ་ལ། ཛ་མས་ས་འབྲུ། ཕན་ཚུན་གཅིག་ལ་གཅིག་ལས་བྱེད་པ་ལ་འགྲན་ཙ་ན་ཟེར།

96 The dog calls the fox, the fox calls his tail, and his tail scratches the soil.

༩༧ ཁྱི་ཁྲོ་ལང་ན། ཁྱི་ཐུག་ལྡུག། མི་ཞིག་ཁྲོ་ལངས་ཏེ་ཁ་ཟས་མ་ཟ་ན་འདི་ཟེར་རོ།

97 If a dog gets angry, his soup remains untasted.

༩༨ འཁྱིལ་ལོ་མེད་པའི་རི་ལ་འཛེགས་མཁན། རང་གིས་མི་སྐྱོགས་པའི་བྱ་བར་ཧམ་ན་ཟེར།

98 To climb a mountain you cannot scale.

༩༩ ཁྱི་མེད་པའི་མི་ལ་སྦུགས་ཆེན་མོ། ཧང་མེད་པའི་མི་ལ་ཧིང་ཆེན་མོ། སྟོབས་དང་ཡོན་ཏན་མེད་པའི་མིས་ཁ་ཆེན་མོའི་དཔེ་ར་ལབ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

99 He breathes heavily who has no strength; he makes much commotion who has no character.

༡༠༠ ཁྱི་མེད་དེ་གྲོག་པོ་ལ་ཧང་ར་ཆེན་མོ། འཁྲུད་མེད་པའི་མིས་ཀུ་སྒྲ་ཆེན་མོ་བཏོན་ན་ཟེར།

100 Little brooks make much noise.

༡༠༡ ཁྱོག་ཐོང་ཧོག་སྟོང། གཞོན་ནུར་བསམ་པ་དང་བློ་གྲོས་ཆུང་ཟེར་བའོ།

101 Lads are hollow.

༡༠༢ ཁྲ་ཤ་ཟོས་ཏེ་ནམ་ལངས། ཁྭ་ཏ་རྐྱག་པ་ཟོས་ཏེ་ནམ་ལངས། གཅིག་ལས་བཟང་གིས་ཚོ་ཕྱིད་ཀྱི། གཅིག་ལས་ངན་གྱིས་ཚོ་ཕྱིད་པའི་དོན་ནོ། (ནམ་ལངས་པའི་དོན་ཚོ:ཕྱིད་པའོ)།

102 Kites subsist on flesh, and crows on excrement.

༡༠༣ ཁྲག་དང་ལག་པ་ཁྲུས་ཏེ་བཟན་ཟ་མཁན། དཀའ་ལས་འཁྲུར་ཞིང་ཤ་འབད་ཁྲག་འབད་བཏང་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

103 He who eats his food after having washed his hands in blood.

༡༠༤ ཁྲི་ཕྱོག་གི་ཕག་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སྤུལ་ཐུག། ཕག་དང་རྒྱབ་ནས་སུ་ལའང་འཐུག་པས། སྣང་རྟགས་མ་བྱེད་ཟེར་བའོ།

104 Shake your fist behind the table against the king.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༡༠༥ ཁྲམ་དང་ཌབ་ལག་པོ་ཆེ་དུ། བསོད་བདེ་དང་བསོད་ནམས་པོ་ཆུང་དུ། ཁྲམ་དང་སྒྲ་ལག་འཕེལ་རིམ་གྱིས་དཀོན་མཆོག་གི་བྱིན་རླབས་དང་ཐུགས་རྗེ་འབྲི་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

105 Add to yourself lies and cunning, and destiny and fortune will decrease.

༡༠༦ མཁར་རི་རྒྱབ་བ་སོང་སྐྱེ་ཁྲུ་བཏབ་བ་ཙོགས། གཅིག་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོས་གསོལ་རས་སུ་སྣམ་བུ་ཞིག་གནང་བ་དང་། དེས་རིང་ཐུང་དཔག་ཏུ་རིངས་ནས་མཁར་རྒྱབ་ཏུ་ཁྲུ་བཏབ་པས། རིན་མེད་ཆེན་ལ་ཐོབ་པའི་ནོར་ལ་བཟང་ངན་ལྟ་ཞིང་ལེགས་པ་མི་འདུག་ཟེར་དུས་དེ་ལ་ཟེར།

106 To measure a thing with a cubit (measure) at the rear of a palace.

༡༠༧ མཁར་རི་རྒྱལ་པོའང་འཐད། འབྲོག་པ་ཁུ-ཤ་ཧྲལ་ཡང་འཐད། ཡུ་རུ་རོང་ཝ་ཙ་ཡང་འཐད། སྔོན་དུས་བླ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་ཁུ-ཤལ་ལ་ཧྲ་རིད་པ་ཞིག་གསོལ་རས་སུ་གནང་བས་ཁོ་འཐད་སོང་། ཡུ་རུ་རོང་དུ་ཧྲ་དེ་ཤི་འའི་རོ་ཝ་ཙོ་ལ་ཐོབ་པས་ཝ་ཡང་འཐད་པས། གསུམ་འཐད་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

107 The king in his palace, the Dard Kushal, and the foxes of Yuru vale were all pleased.

༡༠༨ མཁར་ཚུད་རི་ཁང་པ་དང་། རྫིང་གཡོག་གི་ཞིང་། དེ་འདྲའི་ཞིང་དང་ཁང་པར་སྡོད་དུས་ཟེར་རོ།

108 A house within the city wall, and a field beneath a dam.

༡༠༩ མཁར་ལས་སྔ་བ་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ། ཡུལ་ལས་སྔ་བ་མི་རུ། སྔ་དུས་ནང་མཁར་དང་པོ་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་དང་། ཡུལ་དང་པོ་མི་རུ་ཆགས་པའི་དཔེར།

109 Khalatse possesses the first palace and Miru the first village.

༡༡༠ མཁར་ལེན་མན། བཟན་ལེན་ཡིན། མཁར་ལས་ནང་ནས་བཟན་མང་པོ་ཟིན་ནོ་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན།

110 It is not in the building, but the expending of food-stuff.

༡༡༡ ཁྲིག་སེའི་མཁན་པོའ་འཛིགས་ས། ཞ་པའི་ཇོ་མོའ་འཛིགས། ཕན་ཚུན་གཉིས་ན་འཛིགས་པ་འཁྱུར་དགོས་ན་ཟེར།

111 To fear the abbot of Trigtse or the nun of Zhapa.

༡༡༢ མཁལ་མའི་དོན་ལ་གཡག་གསད་ཅེས། མི་གཅིག་གི་དོན་དུ་ནོར་མང་པོ་བཤིག་སྐྱེ་མགྲོན་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

112 To kill a Yak for a kidney.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༡༡༣ འཁོར་བའི་ལས་ལ་ཟིན་དུས་མེད། གཏི་སྨུག་གཉིད་ལ་ཚིམ་དུས་མེད། འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ལས་དང་གཉིད་གཉིས་ལ་ཚོད་འཛིན་དགོས་པའི་དཔེར།

113 No end to the endless round of work, and no satisfaction in the sleep of ignorance.

༡༡༤ འཁྲུག་པ་ལན་གསུམ་བཏངས་པ། ཐུགས་སེ་དཀྲིལ་ལ། མི་གཉིས་ཡང་ཡང་འཛིང་མོ་བཏང་བའི་རོག་ཏུ། གཉིས་ཀ་མཛའ་བོ་ཉེ་མོ་འགྲོ་སྲིད་པའི་དཔེར།

114 Those who quarrel thrice afterwards become intimate.

༡༡༥ ཁ་ཆེ་ལྟོགས་པ་བུ་ལོན་དྲན། རང་ལ་ནོར་ཡོད་དུས་སུ་བུ་ལོན་མ་རྫོད་པར། དུས་འཀྱངས་ནས་ནོར་ཟད་དུས་སུ་བུ་ལོན་རྫོད་ན་ཟེར།

115 When the Kashmiri is starving, he remembers loans.

༡༡༦ ཁྲོམ་བཤོལ་ཏེ། ལྟད་མོ་ལ། ལས་དང་གྲོས་ལྟ་བུའི་དུས་བྱུད་ནས་མི་ཞིག་སླེབ་འོང་ན་ཟེར།

116 To set out to watch a performance when the crowd has dispersed.

༡༡༧ ཁ་སྨུར་མེད་པའི་སྣ་སྨུར། ཁར་སྤྱོང་དུ་མེད་པའི་ཁ་ཟས་ཀྱི་དྲི་སྣུམ་ན་ཟེར།

117 Nothing to eat, but a nose to smell. (Reference to savoury food which you are not permitted to eat.)

ག

༡༡༨ ག་དར་ལ་ལྷ་མཉེས། བྱ་ར་དང་ཟོན་བྱེད་པ་ཆོས་དང་མི་མཐུན་པ་མེད་པའི་དཔེར།

118 Caution is esteemed by the gods.

༡༡༩ གང་དགྲ་ཡིན་ནའང་མ་འཐུང་། ཇ་ཆང་ཐུག་པ་སོགས་དགྲས་ཀྱང་ཕོར་པ་གང་ལས་ལྷག་པར་འཐུང་དགོས་པ་སྟེ། ཕོར་པ་གཅིག་འཐུང་ནས་ཡང་མི་འཐུང་ཟེར་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

119 Though you should be my enemy, you must drink another cup.

༡༢༠ ཁོ་གའི་ལ་མ་རྒྱབས་མཁན། ཁོག་མཐའ་ནས་མ་བྲལ་བར་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་མ་འགྲིམ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

120 He who has not crossed the pass of his own hearth.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༡༢༡ གོ་བ་མེད་པའི་གླང་ཆེན་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་བས་དབྱུག་པ་ཆེ། མི་གོ་བ་མེད་པའི་གླེན་པ་ལ་ཁ་བཀྱི་བ་བས་རྡུང་བ་ཕན་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

121 Better a stick to a stupid ox than the edict of a king.

༡༢༢ གོས་ཀྱི་མཇུག་ལེབ་ས་ལ་མི་ཐུག་མཁན། འདུག་ཏུ་མི་བཟོད་ཅེང་ཙབ་ཙོབ་བྱེད་དེ་རྒྱུ་ལ་གླིང་སྐོར་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

122 The hem of whose garment does not touch the ground.

༡༢༣ གོས་མེད་ཅིག་གིས་དཔལ་སྨུམ། ཟས་མེད་ཅིག་གིས་སྐྱིད་སྨུམ། གོས་མེད་ན་ཟིལ་འབུད། ཟ་རྒྱུ་མེད་ན་སྐྱིད་མ་ཐང་ཆད་ནས་འགྲུལ་མི་ནུས་ཟེར་བའོ།

123 For lack of clothes his splendour declines, and for lack of food the strength of his shin bone fails.

༡༢༤ གྲོད་པ་ལ་ཚོད་མ་བཙོ་ན། པིག་མོ་ཀྱིན་ཆད་གྲོད་པ་ཡིན། བཟའ་བཏུང་ལ་ཚོད་འཛིན་ཏེ་ཉུང་ངུ་ཟོ་ཟེར་བའོ།

124 Indiscretion in eating produces all belly above the knees.

༡༢༥ གླང་སྒྲིན་ཆུ་འཐུང་། མི་སྒྲིན་ཚེར་མང་བཏོན། གླང་སྒྲིན་དང་མི་སྒྲིན་སྟོན་པའོ།

125 An artful ox pretends to drink, a crafty man pretends to extract a thorn (from his foot).

༡༢༦ གར་ཞ་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་གླིང་། མགོ་མཆོད་ཁྲུང་གླིང་། རྐང་སོག་མ་གླིང་། ཤི་ན་དམྱལ་བ་གླིང་། གཞན་ཡུལ་གྱི་མིས་གཡེངས་པར་གར་ཞ་པར་ཟེར་རོ།

126 Lahoul is a fairy land where women's heads are adorned with a lamp, and where the feet are ornamented with straw shoes. To die in this country is hell.

༡༢༧ རྒན་པེར་ས་ལ་མི་ཟུག། རྒན་གཏམ་མི་ལ་མི་ཟུག། མི་རྒས་ན་དེའི་གཏམ་ཡང་མི་རྒྱུག་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

127 The staff of the aged will not stick in the ground; and the conversation of old people makes no impression on others.

༡༢༨ སྒ་སྟོང་ཏེ་ཀ་བྱ་མི་ཐག། རྟ་ཐོག་ཏུ་མ་བསྡད་པར་ས་ལ་བོར་ཡོད་པའི་སྒའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་མ་སྡོད་ཟེར་བའོ།

128 An unsaddled saddle could not carry a bird.

རིམ་གྲངས
Serial
Number

༡༢༩ སྒྲ་བརྙན་ནི་ཇོ་དང་། སྲོག་བརྙན་ནི་པ་ར། བཙོན་ཁང་ལས་ཇོ་བོས་སྒྲོལ་ཆུས་པ་ལྟར་དང་། སྲོག་བཙུག་ནས་ཆོ་ལོ་རྩེ་དུས་པ་ར(+)འཐོན་ན་སྲོག་ཐར་བ་ལྟར། སྲོག་སྐྱབ་པའི་མི་དྲིན་ཅན་ལ་སྤྱོད་དུས་ཟེར།

129 He is my lord who redeemed my body, the dice which saved my life.

༡༣༠ སྒོ་ནས་ཡོངས་ཏེ། དཀར་ཁུང་ནས་འཐིང་ཆ་ཅེས། སྒོ་གཅིག་ནས་ནང་དུ་འོངས་པ་དཀར་ཁུང་མང་པོ་ནས་འཐོན་ན། འོང་བ་ལས་འགྲོ་བ་མགྱོགས་པ་ལྟར། ནོར་ཇི་ཙམ་ཁང་པར་སོག་ཀྱང་མགྱོགས་པར་ཟད་པའི་དོན་དུ་ཟེར།

130 Coming in at the door and going out through the windows.

༡༣༡ སྒོག་པ་མང་ཟོས་ཉུང་ཟོས་སྒོག་རི་(དྲི)ཐོ། ཉེ་བ་ངན་པའི་ནང་ཚུང་ཟད་འདྲིས་ཀྱང་མང་པོ་འདྲིས་པ་དང་ཁྱད་མེད་ཟེར་བའོ།

131 He smells of garlic whether he eats much or little. (A fault is a fault whether it be great or small.)

༡༣༢ རྒྱ་གར་ལ་ཉིན་ལོག་བཏང་ཀན། རྒྱ་གར་ལ་ཞག་གཅིག་ནང་འགྲོ་འོང་གཉིས་པོ་སྒྲུབ་པ་ལྟར། ཅེས་ནས་སྨུར་པོར་ལོག་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

132 He who returns from India in one day.

༡༣༣ རྒྱ་ནག་རྟོག་པས་འཕུང་། བོད་རེ་བས་འབུང་། རྣམ་རྟོག་དང་རེ་བ་བྱས་ནས་འཕུང་ན་ཟེར།

133 China is spoilt through suspicion, Tibet through hope.

༡༣༤ རྒྱ་ནག་ཀོ་རྡོལ་ཤིང་རྡོལ། རྒྱ་ནག་ལ་དམག་མི་མང་བས། ཀོ་བ་དང་ཤིང་གི་མ་ཐེམ་ལས་ལན་གཅིག་འགྲུལ་ན་རྡོལ་ཟེར་བའོ།

134 China pierces skin and wood. (It is said that there are so many soldiers in China that if they pass a door made of wood-slips or a threshold covered with hides they would be broken.)

༡༣༥ རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ལྦུ་བ་ལ། ཆུ་སྲིན་ནི་སེར་སྣ། དཔོན་པོས་བསྒོ་བ་ལས་གཡོག་པོས་གཞན་ལ་ཕྱིས་ནས་སྦྱིན་ན་ཟེར།

135 The sea-serpent envies the foam of the sea.

༡༣༦ རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཀ་བོང་གཅིན་སྣན་མ། ཕྱུག་པོར་དབུལ་པོའི་ཚོར་རྟེད་དུས་སམ། དབུལ་བས་ཕྱུག་པོར་སྟེར་ན་ཟེར།

136 To add the urine of an ass to the sea.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༡༣༧ རྒྱ་མི་རུ་འགྲིམ་པའི་ཕྲུག་གོང་ཀུན། སྔོན་དུས་ལ་དྭགས་གཞུང་འཁོར་པ་ཞིག་རྒྱ་དང་མི་རུ་བར་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས་ལོག་ ཡོང་དུས་ཧ་ལས་པས། སྔོན་དུས་དང་ད་ལྟའི་མིའི་འགྱུལ་ལུགས་སྐྱར་དུས་ཟེར།

137 Young man, you have travelled as far as Rgya and Miru.

༡༣༨ རྒྱགས་ཏེ་ཚིལ་མི་འཁུར། རྒུད་དེ་ཁང་མི་ཆད། ཕྱུག་སྟེ་ཕོ་སོ་ཅན་དང་། དབུལ་པོ་སོང་ནས་ཡི་མི་ཆད་ཟེར་བའོ།

138 Through being stout I shall not carry much fat, and through being debilitated I shall not grow tired. (To denote firmness of mind, and indifference to wealth.)

༡༣༩ རྒྱན་དང་མེན་ཏོག་ཆུང་ན་མཛེས། རྒྱན་ཆ་ཟུལ་ཉིལ་མང་པོ་བས་ཆུང་ཆུང་མཛེས་ཟེར་བའོ།

139 It is seemly if your ornaments and flowers are small.

༡༤༠ རྒྱབ་པ་སང་སྙམ་པ་སྡུ། རྡོ་བ་ལྷ་བུ་རྒྱབ་ན་ཚོད་བྱས་ནས་རྒྱབ་པས་མི་སྡུ་ཡང་། འཇིགས་པ་ སྟོན་དུ་ཆེ་བ་ཉེན་ཅན་ཞིག་སྙམ་པས། དེ་ལག་ནས་འབུད་ན་ལག་འཐལ་དུ་འགྲོ་སྲིད་པས། རྒྱབ་རྫུན་བྱེད་པ་བས་རྒྱབ་པའི་ནང་ཉེན་ཆུང་ཟེར་བའོ།

140 Brandishing is worse than striking.

༡༤༡ རྒྱལ་ཚོས་ལ་རྟགས་པ་མེད། ཨ་ལི་མིར་རི་རྟ་ལ་ཞགས་པ་མེད། ཐུར་ཐག་ཞགས་པ་མེད་ པའི་རྟ་གར་འཐད་རྒྱུ་བ་ལྟར། མི་ཆེན་ཡང་ཆ་བཞག་མེད་ཟེར་བའོ།

141 A king's temper is uncertain; Ali Mir's pony has no rein.

༡༤༢ རྒྱལ་པོའི་ས་ལ་སྤྲང་པོའི་ཐིག། ནོར་གྱི་བདག་པོ་མ་ཡིན་པས་བདག་པོ་འདྲ་བྱེད་དུས་སུ་ ཟེར།

142 The beggar stretched a line on the king's territory.

༡༤༣ རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་ཡུལ་གཅིག་ནང་མི་ཤོང་། དབང་འཛིན་ཅན་གཉིས་གནས་གཅིག་ཏུ་མི་འཐུན་ ཟེར་བའོ།

143 There is no room for two kings in one country.

༡༤༤ རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞགས་པ་མཐའ་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་དཔོན་པོས་མཐའ་ནས་རྩད་བཅད་དེ་ཉེས་པ་ཅན་ འཛིན་ཟེར།

144 The lasso of the king encompasses one from afar.

༡༤༥ རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་དང་ནམ་མཁའི་ཐོག་འདྲ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་དབང་ཆེ་ལ་བཙན་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

145 The edict of a king is like lightning.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༡༤༦ རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ལྷ་ན་སྐད་གཅིག། བློན་པོ་ལ་ལྟ་ན་སྐད་གཉིས། དོན་གཉིས་ཡོད་པའི་ཚིག་གཏོང་..
བའི་གཏམ་ལ་ཟེར།

146 The king's speech has but one meaning: a minister of State's speech is ambiguous.

༡༤༧ རྒྱལ་མཚན་པེ་མི་འགམ། འཚོག་པ་སྨིག་དུས་སུ་ཕྱིད་ཀྱིས་འདི་ཟ་མི་ཧོང་ཟེར་ནས་ཟར་མི་
འཇུག་པ་དང་། ངས་འདི་མི་ཟ་ཟེར་བ་ལ་ཁྲིལ་ན་ཟེར།

147 Rgyaltsan does not eat brown flour.

༡༤༨ རྒྱན་གྱི་ལྷ་ཛ། འབེ་དུས་ཉིན་རེར་དགོན་པོར་ལྷ་ཛ་གཏོང་བ་ལྟར། རྒྱན་གྱི་ཁ་ཟས་འགངས་
ཅན་མེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

148 The daily music of homage (i.e. the usual round of daily meals).

༡༤༩ རྒྱུས་མེད་གོག་སྤྲུག་ག། ནང་གི་རྒྱུས་མེད་ཞིག་ཐོ་མེད་དུ་སླེབ་ན་ཟེར།

149 A stranger invades the privacy of the best room.

༡༥༠ སྒང་གླས་སེ་སྲན་མ་ལ་ལྟ་ལྟའ། སྤི་ཐུག་གི་སོ་རྐོབ་པོའང་བུད། ཡག་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་ཏམ་
ཏམ་ལ་བུ་བ་དེ་ཡང་ལག་པ་ནས་འབུད་ན་ཟེར།

150 When searching for peas at Sganglas village, he lost the unhusked barley at Spitug.

༡༥༡ སྒྲིད་པུ་གསུམ་མི་བདག་པོ། རྡོ་བ་སྒྲིད་པུ་གསུམ་ལས་གཞན་ནོར་ཅིའང་མེད་དུང་། སྒྲོང་
མོ་མི་སྒྲོང་བར་རང་ཟན་ཟ་བའི་མི་ལའམ་མིས་ཟེར།

151 He is the possessor of three stones to form a fireplace.

༡༥༢ སྒྲིད་པུ་གསུམ་བྲང་ལ་ཟུག་སྟེ་མ་ནེ་ནང་བཙོ་མི་ཤེས། ཁང་པའི་འཀྱག་སྒོ་དང་འབུད་སྒོའི་
དུགས་ཚ་ན་མ་ཐོག་གོང་དུ་ཤེ་ཚ་ཡིས་ལས་མི་བྱེད་པའི་དཔེར།

152 He could not arrange his family affairs until he had hurt himself on the three stones which formed his fireplace.

༡༥༣ རྒྱུ་མ་རིང་མོ། སྙང་བ་རིང་བ་གཡེལ་ལོ་ཅན་ལ་ཟེར།

153 He who has long bowels.

༡༥༤ ར་ལ་རོ། རོ་ལ་ཤོག་པ། (སྒྲ་ལ་སྒྲོ། སྒྲོ་ལ་ཤོག་པ)། གཏམ་ཆུང་བ་ཞིག་ལ་ཏམ་
བཏང་ནས་ཆེན་མོ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

154 To attach feathers to a word, and to add wings to feathers.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༡༥༥ གྲལ་མེད་ན། འགོམ་ནོག་མེད། ལས་སྐྱེ་ནང་མེད་ན་ཟེར་རྒྱུ་དང་སྐད་སྒྲའང་མི་འབྱུང་གི། ཡོད་ན་ཡོང་བའི་དཔེ།

155 He who is outside the row (of guests) has no one to supersede him.

༡༥༦ དགུ་རྩེ་བཞལ་ཏེ་བཙོད་ནོ་ཅེས། སྣམ་བུ་དགུ་ལྭབ་ཀྱི་སྙིད་ཀྱི་རིན་བཏང་ནས་སྣམ་བུ་འཚོད་པའི་བཙོད་ནོ་བ་ལྷུར། རིན་ཚོད་མེད་བཅལ་ཏེ་ཅེ་ཞིག་ནོ་ན་ཟེར།

156 He paid the price of nine pieces of cloth, with which to dye one piece of cloth.

༡༥༧ དགུན་ཉིན་ལོག་སྔ་མ་ནི་གྲང་མི་ཤར། དབྱར་ཉིན་ལོག་སྔ་མ་ནི་དྲོད་མི་འབབ། དེ་ནི་དེ་བཞིན་ནོ།

157 It will not be cold before winter solstice and not warm before summer solstice.

༡༥༨ མགར་ར་འཐད་ན། ཁབ་སྐམ་པའི་མགོ་ལ། ལག་ཤེས་འཐད་ན་སྒྲིབ་གཅིག་ནང་ལས་བྱེད་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

158 If a blacksmith is satisfied, the needle will be on the tip of his pincers.

༡༥༩ མགལ་གཅིག་ལ་མེ་མི་འབར། ཤིང་མགལ་ཟོ་གཅིག་ལ་མེ་མི་འབར་ཟེར།

159 You cannot kindle a fire with but one stick.

༡༦༠ མགོ་ཆག་གི་མགོ་ལ། སྐྱད་ནས་ཡོད་སར་ཡང་ཡང་འཛོག་པའི་དོན་ནོ!

160 On top of the broken head.

༡༦༡ མགོ་མཐོ་བར་པིག་མོ་མ་དགའ། རང་གི་ནང་ནས་མི་ཞིག་ཆེ་བར་གྱུར་ནས། རང་གི་མི་མི་འཐད་ན་ཟེར།

161 The knees do not like the head to be above them.

༡༦༢ མགོ་མ་ཚོས་པར་གླད་པའི་ཟ་རིངས། དུས་ལས་སྔོན་དུ་ཟ་བར་རིངས་ན་ཟེར།

162 To be eager to eat the brains before the head is cooked.

༡༦༣ མགོ་མེད་དཔུང་པའི་རོག་རོག། མགོ་རེ་བྱེད་མཁན་གང་ཡང་མེད་པར་ཧིད་རང་འཐད་དུ་བྱེད་པ་ཡོད་ན་ཟེར།

163 Many rude shoulders without a head.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༡༦༤ མགོ་ལ་གཡུ་གཞུང་བཏག་པ་བསམ་པའི་མགོ་བསྐོར་ཡིན། མནའ་མ་མནའ་མ་ཟེར་བ་མིའི་གཡོག་པོ་ཡིན། བག་མར་འགྲོ་བའི་བུ་མོར་ཟེར།

164 In wearing the best turquoises she merely deceived herself: for she was a servant who called herself a bride.

༡༦༥ མགོ་ཤ་རི་ལ་ཆ་ཅེས། བཀྲིད་པ་སྐྲུར་བའམ་ཡི་སྨུག་ནས་ལས་བྱེད་སྙིང་མེད་པ་འགྲོ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

165 One's scalp escapes to the hills. (To give up one's courage.)

༡༦༦ མགོ་ཤ་ཟ་ནའང་སྡེར་གཅིག། མ་ཟ་ནའང་སྡེར་གཅིག། ར་ལུག་གི་མགོ་ཤ་ཟོས་ཀྱང་འཐོངས་མཐལ་དུ་ལུས་པའི་དཔེར།

166 The dish is full whether you eat the flesh of the sheep's head or not.

༡༦༧ མགོའི་ནང་ང་ཀླད་མེད། སྙིང་ངེ་ནང་ང་བསམ་མེད། བསམ་བློ་མེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

167 No brains in his head; no thoughts in his mind.

༡༦༨ མགོའི་ནང་ང་གངས་འཁུར་མཁན། བསམ་པ་མེད་པའི་ན་སོ་གཞོན་པ་མགོ་མཁྲང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

168 He carries ice in his head.

༡༦༩ མགྱོགས་མགྱོགས་པ་འཐོ། འཐོ་འཐོ་པ་བཏུ། རིངས་པ་ཏབ་རྟབ་བྱེད་ན་མང་དུ་འགོར་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

169 Through haste the contents fell on the ground, and through falling, he collected them again (i.e. more haste less speed).

༡༧༠ མགྲོན་པོ་གཅེས་པ་ལ་ཉེ་རེ། མགྲོན་པོ་སོགས་ལ་ཆང་གི་ཉེ་རེ་སྟེར་ན་ཟེར།

170 The dregs of beer go to the favoured guest.

༡༧༡ འགྲང་ན་བུ་རམ་ཁན་ཏི། འགྲངས་ན་མངར་བ་ཡང་ཁན་ཏི་ཚོར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

171 When you have eaten to repletion, even the syrup tastes bitter.

༡༧༢ དགོན་པའི་ཁྱི་ལ་རྡུངས་པ། བླ་མའི་ཐུགས་ལ་ཐོག །ཁྱིར་བརྡུང་ན་བདག་པོའི་སེམས་ལ་འཐོག་པས། མིས་གཡོག་པོར་རྡུང་བ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་དཔོན་པོ་ཁྲོས་ན་ཟེར།

172 Beat the monastery dog, and you will incur the resentment of the priest.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༡༧༣ དགུ་བཅུའི་ཁ་ནས་ལྡོག་མཁན། གཏམ་སྐྱི་རི་བེ་རི་ལྡོག་པའི་མི་ཁྲམ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

173 He who turns the tables at the ninetieth opportunity (i.e. defeating an opponent in argument at the eleventh hour).

༡༧༤ རྒྱལ་པོ་དགའ་མ་བསམ། གནམ་ཐང་མ་བསམ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་གནམ་ལ་ཆ་བཞག་མེད་ཟེར་བའོ།

174 Think not that the king delights in you, or that the sky is clear.

༡༧༥ རྒྱལ་ལུ་ཡོད་ཡིན། རྒྱལ་ས་ག་ནས་སྟོངས་ཡིན། འཛུང་པ་ཅན་གར་སླེབ་ཀྱང་མགོ་ཚོད་ཅིང་སྐྱིད་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

175 Whilst there is a prince, how can the capital be ruined ?

༡༧༦ ག་ལག་གི་མི་བཅོ་དུས། སྟོན་དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་ལས་དུས་སུ་མི་ལག་དཀོན་པས་ཟེར།

176 The time to make men with clay. (When work is very pressing in spring-time and autumn.)

༡༧༧ བརྒྱ་སྐྱེས་སང་གཅིག་སྐྱུར་ཟྲ། ཕྲུ་གུ་བརྒྱ་སྐྱེ་བ་བས་ཕྲུ་གུ་གཅིག་སྐྱུར་བ་ཉེན་ཅན་ཡིན་ཟེར།

177 One miscarriage is worse than bearing a hundred children. (It is thought that a miscarriage renders a mother incapable of bearing many children.)

༡༧༨ གྲོད་པོ་ཆེ་དང་སྡེར་མ་གཅིག། གྲོད་པ་ཆེན་པོ་མཉེ་དུ་ཁ་ཟས་ཐ་ཞི་གཅིག་ནང་མ་ཟ། ཟ་ན་ཁྲོད་ངོ་ཚ་བར་འགྱུར།

178 Don't share a plate with a glutton. (Otherwise you will be identified with a glutton.)

༡༧༩ གོས་ཆེན་གྱི་གུར་ལ་ཕ་ཚའི་ལྷན་པ།

179 To patch rough cloth on a silk tent.

ང

༡༨༠ ང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་མགོ་ལ་རང་མཐོང་གི་རྭ་ཅོ་སྐྱེ་ན། ཤིང་མཁན་མཁས་པའི་སོག་ལེས་ཀྱང་མི་ཆོད།

180 The horn of haughtiness could not be sawn with the saw of a clever carpenter.

༡༨༡ ང་ལ་བརྒྱད་ཅུ། ང་ལ་སྟོང་ཞིག་ཟེར་གྱིན་སྡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

181 He who says 'give me eighty times' (e.g. an insatiable egotist).

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༡༨༢ ངན་པ་དགུ་འཛོམ། བར་ཆད་སྣ་ཚོགས་དུས་གཅིག་ལ་འོང་ན་ཟེར། ལོ་གསར་གྱི་ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིས་པའི་ཚེས་ལ་འང་ངན་པ་དགུ་འཛོམ་ཟེར། བོད་པས་ཞག་དེར་སྐྱེས་པའི་ཕྲུ་གུ་ལ་བཀྲ་མི་ཤིས་ཟེར་རོ།

182 The assembling of nine evils.

༡༨༣ ཛ་མ་བཏག་ལོང་མི་འདུག! ལྗེ་གཏང་ལོང་ག་ནས། ལས་འཛོམ་ནང་ན་ང་ལ་ལོང་མེད་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན།

183 If a cow has no time to elevate her tail, how can she drop her dung? (When a man has too much work to do.)

༡༨༤ སྔ་མོའི་འཚལ་མ་དང་། ཉིན་གཅིག་གི་སྣ་ཡལ། མི་ལག་གིས་འཚལ་མ་ཟོས་ཟེར་ན། ཉིན་གང་ལས་བྱེད་དགོས་ཟེར།

184 Through partaking of breakfast he became a slave for the rest of the day.

༡༨༥ སྔན་མ་སྐྱག་རྒྱབ་ན། རྗེང་མ་དགོད་མ་ཤོར། གཞན་ཞིག་འཁྱུགས་ན་མ་ཁྲེལ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱང་འཁྱུགས་སྲིད་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན།

185 If the one in front stumbles, do not laugh at him who is behind.

༡༨༦ སྔན་མ་ཕྲད་པ་གྲོགས་ཀྱི་མཆོག། སྔར་ཕྲད་པའི་མཆེད་གྲོགས་དང་ཆུང་མ་ཁྱོ་སོགས་རྒྱལ་བ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

186 He is your best friend whom you meet first.

༡༨༧ སྔན་མ་ཤ་ཟ་མཁན། རྗེང་མ་ཁྲག་འཐུང་མཁན། དཔོན་པོ་སྔ་མ་བས་རྗེང་མ་ཤེབ་ངན་པའོ་ཟེར།

187 The first were cannibals, and their successors blood-drinkers. (Used of corrupt officials.)

༡༨༨ སྔར་བྱས་རྒྱབ་སྐུར། ད་བྱ་པང་ལེན། སྔར་ཅི་བྱས་སྤྲངས་ཏེ། ད་བྱེད་དགོས་པ་དང་འོས་པ་དང་དུ་ལེན་ཟེར།

188 Cast your former deeds behind you, and take to your bosom what you have to do now.

༡༨༩ ངོམ་མི་ངོམ་ཤིང་དང་། འཕྱར་རེ་འཕྱར་ཤིང་། རང་གི་མི་ངོམ་ཐུབ་པ་ལ་སྟོད་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

189 The stock of pride and the stock of boasting.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༡༩༠ ངོས་ངན་ཅན་ལ་དར་རི་མེན་ཏོག། བུད་མེད་ལྷ་བུས་སྡར་ལས་ངན་བྱུས་ཏེ་གཏམ་ངན་ཐོག་ནས། ཕྱིས་དེ་འདྲ་བྱ་བ་ངན་པ་སྤྱངས་པའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་གཏམ་ངན་དོན་མེད་དུ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

190 The Ladar flower (Convolvulus) has an evil aspect.

༡༩༡ ཛན་བརྒྱ་མི་ལ་བཏབ་ན། ཛན་སྟོང་རང་ལ། གཞན་ལ་ཛན་བཏབ་ན་རང་ལ་དེ་བས་ཞེབ་གནོད་ཟེར།

191 He who curses others a hundred times collects a thousand curses for himself.

༡༩༢ ངོ་མི་ཐོད། མགོ་མི་ཆོད། མིའི་ངོ་ལ་བལྟས་ཏེ་འཐད་བཅུག་པས་ལས་གང་ཡང་མི་སྒྲུབ་ཟེར།

192 He who cannot refuse (a request) cannot succeed.

༡༩༣ ཧུ་མ་ཧུའ་ཨ་མས་ནུ་སྤུའང་ཕེ་ཕེ་མི་གཏང་། རང་ལ་དགོས་པ་ཁ་ནས་ཞུས་ནས་མིན་མི་ཐོབ་ཟེར་བའོ།

193 A mother does not suckle her child until it cries.

༡༩༤ སྐར་དཔེ་ཕྱི་ལམ། རང་གི་ཁ་ནས་སྐར་སློས་པ་ལྟར། ཕྱིས་སུ་ཡང་རང་གིས་དེ་ལ་ཉན་དགོས་ཟེར་བའོ།

194 A man's precepts must become the line of action he follows.

༡༩༥ ངན་པའི་འཚེར་མ་བཅད་ན། བདེན་པའི་ཡིད་མི་ཆེས། བྱ་བ་བདེ་བ་འདོད་ན་སྔར་ངན་པ་ལ་ཆད་པས་གཙོད་དགོས་པའི་དཔེའོ།

195 If evil is not utterly eradicated, there is no assurance of betterment.

ཅ

༡༩༦ ཅ་རི་བང་ང་གང་ང་ཆུ་ཚན་བླུག་མཁན། ཁྲིལ་དང་ངོ་ཚ་རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལ་སྨད་དུ་ཟེར།

196 To pour hot water on a binful of bugs.

༡༩༧ ཙང་ཧེའི་དཔང་པོ། མཛའ་བོ་གཉིས་འཚོང་བྱེད་དུ་སོང་ནས། ཆར་པ་ཡོང་ནས་བྲང་སའི་ནང་དུ་ཙང་ཧེ་ཡོང་བས་གཅིག་དེས་གཞན་དེ་བསད་དེ་ཁོའི་ནོར་ཐོབ་ཕྱིར་ནས། ཕོ་མང་ཚོག་ཏུ་མི་དེ་རང་གི་ཆུང་མ་མཉམ་ཉལ་ནས་ཡོད་དུས་སུ་དགོད་ཤོར་བས། མོས་ཡང་ཡང་དེའི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་དྲིས་པ་དང་། མཐར་དེས་ངས་མི་དེ་བསད་དུས་སུ་ཁོས" དེ་

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

རིང་ཙང་ཧི་ཁྱོད་རང་དཔང་པོ་ཡིན་"སྨྲས་པ་དེ་དྲན་ནས་དགོད་པ་ཡིན། ཅི་ལ་ཞེ་ན། ད་ལྟ་འདིར་ཡང་ཙང་ཧི་འོང་བས་སོ་སྙམ་སོ། ཀྱོས་གཞན་མཛའ་མོ་ཀུན་ལ་གཏམ་དེ་བཤད་པས། ཁྲིམས་མི་དེ་ལས་དཀྲི་ཤ་ལངས་ཏེ་དེ་ཡང་བསད་པས་གཏམ་དཔེར་ལུས་སོ།

197 The witness of a leaking roof. (Once two friends travelling on a trading expedition quarrelled, and the one killed the other when the roof under which they lived was leaking. No one was there to witness the deed. The dying man said: 'You drops of water shall be my witness'. The friend then got all the wealth of the deceased. After many years when he was sleeping with his wife he smiled, and his wife asked him the reason for this, and at last he gave his reason for smiling. He said: 'Just as to-day the roof was leaking when I killed a man, and he called upon the drops of water to be his witness, so this reminded me of the incident.' His wife told her friends about this, and her husband was convicted of murder, and had to pay the penalty of his crime.)

༡༩༨ ཟུབ་བཙད་པའི་མི་དང་། ཁ་བཙད་པའི་ཛ་མ། ཁ་བཀག་ཡོད་པའི་ཛ་མའི་ཆང་ངད་ཅན་འགྲོ་བ་ལྟར། ཁ་རོག་པའི་མི་ཡང་དཀན་ཅན་འོང་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

198 A silent man is like a corked bottle. (Liquor kept in a corked bottle is supposed to gain in strength, so a silent man is thought to be good at repartee.)

༡༩༩ ཆོག་ལམ་ས་ཀ་གའི་ཅོག་ཅོག། ཀ་ཀ་དང་ནོ་ཡོད་པའི་ཡུལ་ལ་ཟེར།

199 Choglamsar is full of men of good birth. (When there are many men in a village of high birth.)

༢༠༠ ཅི་ལ་སྦྱང་ན། དེ་ལ་མཁས། བྱ་བ་ཅི་ནང་སྦྱང་ན་དེ་ནང་མཁས་པ་འགྲོའོ་ཟེར།

200 You become clever in that which you practise.

༢༠༡ ལྕུ་གུ་དང་ཕྲུ་གུ་ཆུང་ངུ་ནས་སྲོང་། ལྕུག་གུ་ཆུང་ངུ་སྲང་བ་སླ་བ་ལྟར་ཕྲུ་གུ་ཡང་ཆུང་ངུ་ནས་སྲང་སླ་ཟེར།

201 Straighten the saplings, and train a child when he is young.

༢༠༢ ལྕེ་དམར་ཆུང་ལ་ཉ་ར་མ་བཙོན། མགོ་རིལ་རིལ་ལ་ངོ་བརྒྱལ་སྐྱོད་རྒྱུ་རེ། ལྕེ་ལ་ཉ་ར་ཙོམས་ཟེར།

202 Fail to control his small red tongue, and his round head will suffer sorely.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༢༠༣ ལྕེ་ཅན་ལ་མི་འཐད། ཀྣང་འཛག་ལ་ཁྱི་འཐད། མི་ལྕེ་པ་ལའམ་ཛོ་གསོའི་གཏམ་ལབ་ཅིང་
འཐད་འཇུག་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

203 Men like flatterers, and dogs like those afflicted with dysentery.

༢༠༤ ལྕེའི་ཁ་ཞིང་རྨོ་མཁན། མི་བརྫུན་ཅན་ཤོབ་ཅན་གྱི་གཏམ་ལབ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

204 He who ploughs on his tongue.

༢༠༥ ལྕགས་གཡའ་སྨན། ཟངས་གཡའ་དུག། ལྕགས་གཡའ་དང་ཟངས་གཡའི་ཕྱིར་ཟེར།

205 The rust of iron is a remedy, and that of copper a poison.

ཆ

༢༠༦ ཆ་ཆ་འགྲོ་འགྲོ་སྲིད་ལ་གཟན། རྗེས་སུ་འགྲོ་ན། རྒྱགས་ཕྱིར་བས་སྲིད་ལ་གནོད་ཟེར།

206 Going to and fro is hurtful to a livelihood.

༢༠༧ ཆ་མཁན་ལ་མེ་རིལ་མ་ཆུག། འདུག་མཁན་ལ་སྒལ་བཀལ་མ་བཅུག། འདུག་མཁན་ལ་
འདུག་པའི་གྲལ་དང་འགྲོ་མཁན་ལ་འགྲོ་བའི་གྲལ་ཆེད་དུ་ཆུག་ཟེར།

207 Don't let a wayfarer cover the fire, and don't let the one who stays at home, load the animal. (The wayfarer cares little for a fire, and the 'stay-at-home' person dislikes preparing for a journey.)

༢༠༨ ཆང་རིན་སང་ཛ་རིན་ཐུ། ཆང་གི་རིན་བཅད་ནས་ཉོ་བས། ཛ་མ་ཆག་ན་དེའི་རིན་ཆང་མས་
ཇི་བཅད་འཛལ་དགོས་ཟེར།

208 The price of the bottle is greater than that of the beer. (The price of the liquor is fixed, but break the bottle and you will have to pay what the owner demands.)

༢༠༩ ཆགས་ཞོ། མ་ཆགས་དར་ར། ང་ལུས་ན་ལུས། མ་ལུས་ན་མ་ལུས། ཅི་ཆ་ནའང་སོང་
ཟེར་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

209 Coagulated milk becomes curds, and if not congealed it becomes buttermilk. (When a man is in difficulties. It means 'Let happen what will'.)

༢༡༠ ཆག་པོས་གས་པོ་ལ་ཁྲེལ་ཅེས། སྐྱོན་མང་ཡོད་པས་སྐྱོན་ཅུང་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཁྲེལ་ན་ཟེར།

210 The broken article blamed the cracked one.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༢༡༡ ཆུ་ཁྱོད་རང་འཁོལ་ཡིན་འདུག། ཕེ་ངས་ནི་འགམ་ཚར། ངའི་དོན་འགྲུབ་ཚར། ཁྱོད་ཁྲོ་
འཁོལ་ནའང་ཁོལ་ཟེར་བའོ།

211 The flour is eaten, so the water may go on boiling (i.e. I have fulfilled my task, so you may be angry if you like).

༢༡༢ ཆུ་ཆུང་ཆུ་དང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆུང་ཆུ་ལ་ཚོད་མ་བཅད། དོན་གོ་བ་སླ་མོ་ཡིན།

212 Don't belittle the petty king, or belittle the tiny stream.

༢༡༣ ཆུ་མ་མཐོང་ང་ལྷམ། གཙང་པོའི་ཚར་མ་ཕྱིན་ཏེ་ལྷམ་ཕུད་པ་ལྟར། དུས་ལས་སྔོན་དུ་
འཇིགས་པ་འཇམ་གྲོལ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

213 To shed one's shoes before seeing the water.

༢༡༤ ཆུ་མ་ཡོང་བར་ཆུ་སྒྲ། ཆུ་ལས་སྔོན་དུ་སྐད་ཐོས་པ་ལྟར། མི་མ་སླེབ་གོང་དུ་དེའི་གཏམ་འཛུར་
བ་སོགས་ལ་ཟེར།

214 The sound of running water may be heard before it reaches you.

༢༡༥ ཆུ་མང་པོ་ལ་རབས་མེད། དཔེ་ར་མང་པོ་ལ་རིན་མེད། གཏམ་བརྗོད་ཅན་ཅུང་ཙམ་ལབ་
དགོས་ཟེར།

215 No ford in deep waters; no value in much talk.

༢༡༦ ཆུ་མིག་རང་བཞིན་མ་སྐམ་ན། ས་རྡོ་རི་རབ་བཀབ་ནའང་མི་སྐམ། རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་མི་ཞིག་
གི་སྟོབས་མ་ཉམས་ན། གཞན་གྱིས་གནོན་པའམ་འཚེ་བས་དེའི་སྟོབས་མི་འདུད་ཟེར།

216 If a spring does not of itself dry up, covering it with earth, stones, or even a mountain range will not dry it up.

༢༡༧ ཆུ་ཚབ་[illegible]་མར་ཁུ། ཟས་ཁ་ལན་དང་རྟགས་ལན་ལེགས་པ་གཏང་དགོས་ཟེར།

217 Melted butter instead of water. (Offering something better in return for a meal or gift.)

༢༡༨ ཆུའི་ཐལ་རྡུབ། ཆུ་ཐོག་གི་ཐལ་རྡུབ་ད་ལྟ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ད་ལྟ་སྟོར་བ་ལྟར། རྟག་གཞི་མེད་པའི་
མི་ལ་ཟེར།

218 A speck of dust on the water. (To denote unsteadiness.)

༢༡༩ ཆུ་སང་སིང་ང། ཉ་སང་འཇམ་མ། ཆོར་མེད་ལ་སྐྱད་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

219 Thinner than water, and softer than a fish (i.e. a dissolute person).

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༢༢༠ ཆུ་ཞིག་འབེ་ན་རྒྱལ། མི་ཞིག་འདུམ་ན་རྒྱལ། མཐུན་མོར་ཐོད་དུ་ཟེར།

220 It is better to divert a stream, and to be reconciled to another. (Diverting a stream makes it easier to cross.)

༢༢༡ ཆུས་ཁྱེར་མཁན་ཞང་ལ་འཐེན་ཅེས། འདས་ཤིང་བུད་ཟིན་པ་དག་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ་བྱེད་ཅིང་གཏཾ་
བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

221 To draw in one's breath which the water has washed away (i.e. talking of things which you once possessed).

༢༢༢ ཆུས་ཁྱེར་གྱི་ར་གི། ཆུས་འཁྱེར་བའི་མིའི་ལག་ཏུ་རལ་གྲི་ཡོད་ན་སུ་ལའང་མི་ལྟ་བར་རྒྱབ་
པ་ལྟར། མི་གཡག་སྐྱ་ཡིས་ཀྱང་རང་གཞན་གང་ལའང་མི་ལྟ་ཟེར་བའོ།

222 As a sword in the hand of a drowning man (i.e. he would strike anyone whom he would encounter. Said of an unscrupulous person.)

༢༢༣ ཆེ་ད་འབྲོང་ཆེ། བླ་མེད་ན་ཁྱིས་མི་ཟ། ཆེ་བ་ཡིན་རུང་བྲོད་མེད་ན་སུ་ལའང་མི་དགོས་ཟེར།

223 If a wild Yak is tasteless, a dog will not eat it (i.e. not quantity but quality which counts).

༢༢༤ ཚོད་ན་སོ་དང་དུད་ཡིན། མ་ཚོད་ན་རྙིལ་དང་ལྡད་ཡིན། ཤ་དང་དགྲ་ལ་བལྡས་ནས་ཟེར།

224 If I cannot chew it with my teeth, I shall masticate it with my gums. (To denote enemy, or when you have to eat tough meat.)

༢༢༥ ཆོས་ཀྱི་དཔང་པོ་དགེ་འདུན། དཔང་པོ་བདེན་པ་ལ་ལྟས་ནས་ཟེར།

225 The priests are they who bear witness for religion.

༢༢༦ ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཡ་ཏ་རྗེང་ནས། ཆེ་མི་འགྲོ་དུས་སམ་རྗེང་ནས་བར་དོ་དང་ལྡད་མོ་ལྟ་ཅེས་ཡོང་
ཡིན་ཟེར།

226 The religious feast comes at the end. (Ironical proverb meaning that the religious feast is the prelude to trouble.)

༢༢༧ ཆོས་བཙོ་ས་ལ་བདུད། ཆོས་བྱེད་དུས་སུ་འཛིང་འཁྲབ་དང་། ལས་བཟང་བྱེད་སར་དེ་
འཇིག་པར་བྱེད་པ་ཞིག་འོང་ན་ཟེར།

227 The devil is on hallowed ground.

༢༢༨ ཆོས་བཟང་ཞིག་གི་སང་། སེམས་བཟང་ཞིག་རྒྱལ། སེམས་བཟང་སྙེད་དུ་ཟེར།

228 A good heart is better than sound belief.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༢༢༨ མཆོང་དཔང་བརྒྱ་གཏང་ནའང་། འབབ་ཐང་གཅིག། གྱེན་དུ་ཙམ་མཆོང་ཡང་ས་ལ་འབབ་པ་ལྟར། གཏམ་གྱི་ནང་དུ་རང་སྟོན་དང་དོན་ལས་ཙམ་འཚོལ་ཡང་། མཐར་དེ་ཀར་འབབ་པོ།

229 Though he rise a hundred times, the result is the same.

༢༣༠ ཆུ་འཐོན་འཐོན་ལྷ་མ་མཁྱེན། ཆུ་ཐོན་པ་ལྷ་མ་ཕྱེད། ཆུ་རྒལ་དུས་སུ་ཆད་མེད་པར་ལྷ་མ་མཁྱེན་ཟེར་གྱི། ཆུ་ཐོན་པ་དང་ལྷ་མའི་མིང་མ་ལེན་པ་ལྟར། རང་དོན་འགྲུབ་པ་དང་དྲིན་མི་དྲན་པའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

230 When fording a river he cries 'Oh God', but having crossed it, he flees from Him.

༢༣༡ ཆའི་རེད་ལ་སྐོར་ར། གཞན་ལས་ཀྱི་ཞོར་ལ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

231 To circumambulate when engaged in the business of walking (i.e. combining religion with worldly activities).

༢༣༢ ཆང་མལ་ལ་ཆང་། ཆང་འཐུང་བས་མགོ་ཟུག་འབྱུང་ན། ཡང་ཆང་འཐུང་ན་འབུད་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

232 Wine on the top of wine (i.e. a headache through drinking liquor counteracted by drinking again).

༢༣༣ ཚོག་པ་ནོར་གྱི་མཆོག། ཚོམ་པ་དང་ངོམ་པ་ནི་ནོར་ཀུན་གྱི་མཆོག་གི་ནོར་ཡིན་ཟེར།

233 A sufficiency is the greatest wealth.

༢༣༤ ཆུང་ངུས་ཞུས་ཏེ། ཆེ་འཁྲུགས། ཕྲུ་གུ་དང་ཕྲུ་གུ་འཁྲུག་པ་བཏང་བའི་རྐྱེན་གྱིས་ཕ་མ་ཀུན་འཁྲུགསོ།

234 Seniors contend for the causes of juniors.

༢༣༥ ཆུའི་འཁོལ་རྫུན་རང་། བག་མའི་ངུ་རྫུན། ཆུ་མ་འཁོལ་ཁར་འཁོལ་འདྲའི་སྐད་ཤིལ་ལི་ལི་ཟེར་བ་དང་བག་མའི་ངུ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

235 Water pretends to boil, and a bride simulates weeping. (When speaking of a bride who simulates grief at a wedding.)

ཛ

༢༣༦ ཇ་ཁ་དམའ། ཆང་ཁ་མཐོ། ཇ་ནི་ཕོར་པ་མ་གང་ཙམ་དང་། ཆང་ལྷིམ་ལྷིམ་ལྡུག་དགོས་ཟེར།

236 Tea lower than the brim, and beer up to the brim of the cup.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༢༣༧ ཇ་དང་དགེ་རྒན་ཚ་ན་རྒྱལ། ཇ་དང་སློབ་དཔོན་གཉིས་པོ་ཚ་བ་ཡོད་ན་རྒྱལ་ཟེར།

237 It is well to have one's tea hot, and one's teacher ardent.

༢༣༨ ཇ་འཚར་པ་སོ་པ་རི། གསོལ་དཔོན་འཚར་པ་ཉ་མ་ཇུ། ཡ་རབས་ཀྱི་མཐལ་དུ་མ་རབས་སླེབ་ན་ཟེར།

238 When one's tea is exhausted then use betel nut, when no cooks Nyamaju becomes cook.

༢༣༩ ཇ་རིན་གྱི་ཁྲ་ཁྲུ་ལ། རྟ་རིན་ནི་ཉག་ར། རིན་ཆུང་བའི་དོན་ཕྱིར་དོན་མང་པོ་སྐྱག་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

239 To build a wall the price of a pony, round a field worth a farthing.

༢༤༠ ཅི་ཐོབ་པོ་གསེར། ལེགས་སྐྱོད་ཅི་ལག་ཏུ་སླེབ་པ་ནི་གསེར་འདྲ་ཅིས་ཤིག་ཟེར་བའོ།

240 What you have already obtained is as gold.

༢༤༡ ཇོ་ཇོ་འབྲུག་གུ་མའི་འཐགས་ཙོགས། ཇཽ་འབྲུག་གུ་མས་ལོ་རེ་ནང་བཀོད་རེ་འཐག་གོ་ཞེས་བོད་པས་སེམས་པས། ལས་འགྲུབ་ཏུ་འགོར་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

241 Like the weaving of Jo-Jo Druguma. It is supposed that Druguma, the wife of Kesar, wore some home-spun cloth at which time she crossed her shuttle once in a year, so that the cloth could only be completely woven by the time the world came to an end. So the saying denotes work which is accomplished exceedingly slowly.

༢༤༢ ཇོ་ཇོ་ལྟོགས་པ་བྲ་ཕེ་འགམ། མི་ཞིག་ལྟོགས་ནས་ཟས་ཞིམ་མེད་ཟ་ན་ཟེར།

242 Her ladyship eats buckwheat flour when she is hungry.

༢༤༣ ཇོའི་བཟན་ཟ་བ་ལ། བྲན་གྱི་ཚེ་འཁྲིར། དཔོན་པོས་གཞན་ལ་བཏང་བའི་ཟན་དང་གསོལ་རས་ལ་གཡོག་པོ་འཚོག་ན་ཟེར།

243 Servants are horrified when someone else eats their master's food. (Denotes jealousy.)

༢༤༤ ཅི་ཤེས་མི་ཤེས་ངས་ཤེས་སད། ཅི་སྐྱིད་མི་སྐྱིད་ང་ལ་སྐྱིད་འདུག། ལག་ལས་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཤེས་པ་ཞིག་ལ་ནོར་མ་ཚོར་བར་དབུལ་པོར་ལུས་ཏེ། ནང་ཚེད་མི་ཤེས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

244 I can do all sorts of things but all sorts of want assails me.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

ཉ

༢༤༥ ཉ་བདེ་ཆུ་བདེ། ཕན་ཚུན་གཉིས་པོར་བདེ་བཙུག་ནས་བཟང་སྐྱིད་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

245 Peace to the fish, and tranquillity to the water.

༢༤༦ ཉ་རི་བསད་ད་ལ་ལྷ་རི། ཉ་དྲི་སེལ་དུ་ཁ་ཚའི་ལྷ་རི་བྱ་བའི་སྨན་སྦྱོད་དགོས་ཟེར།

246 Spice is needed to counteract the smell of fish.

༢༤༧ ཉ་ལ་བལ་མེད། ནོར་མེད་པའི་མི་དབུལ་པོ་ནས་ཁེ་མི་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

247 A fish has no fleece (i.e. an indigent person).

༢༤༨ ཉ་དང་ཉུང་མ། ཁྲག་དང་ཕྱོ་(ལྟོ)། ཉ་དང་ཉུང་མ་སྲེས་ནས་བསྐོལ་ཏེ་ཟ་ན་གནོད་དོ་སེམས་པས། ཕན་ཚུན་འཁྲུགས་བཙུག་ནས་ཁྲག་དང་ལྟོ་བསྲེས་འདྲར་མིག་ཏུ་མི་མཛེས་པའི་གནོད་སྐྱེལ་བའི་མི་འཁྲུག་སྐྱུལ་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

248 Fish, turnip, blood, and the contents of the stomach.

༢༤༩ ཉལ་མཁན་ལ་སྐལ་ལ་མེད། ཤི་མཁན་ལ་འགྲོས་མེད།

249 There is no portion for the sleeper, and a dead man does not walk.

༢༥༠ ཉི་མ་རྒས་ནའང་། དམར་ཐག་མ་ཡོལ་ལ་ཡོད། ང་ལ་གྲོགས་བྱེད་པ་གཙོ་ཆེ་བ་ཤི་ནའང་ད་དུང་གཞན་རེ་ཡོད། ཞེས་མིས་ཚོད་བཅད་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

250 Though the sun sets, its rays play on the mountain (of one who has lost his chief friend but gets others).

༢༥༡ ཉ་བསད་དེ་ཁྱི་ལ་སྦྱིན་བའ། ཁ་དམན་དབུལ་པོ་བཅོམ་ནས་མི་ནོར་ཡོད་ལ་སྦྱིན་ན་ཟེར།

251 To kill a fish and give it to a dog as an alm (of one who robs the poor and feeds the rich).

༢༥༢ རྨི་ལམ་བག་ཆགས་རྫུ་མ་འཁྲུལ་ཅན། རང་གི་བསམ་པའི་བག་ཆགས་བཞིན་དུ་རྨི་བས་དེ་ལ་ཡིད་མ་ཆེས་ཟེར།

252 A dream is only a natural delusion (or illusion).

༢༥༣ ཉིན་མོར་གཉིད་ལོག་སྡེ། མཚན་མོར་ཤིག་བཏུ་ཅེས། ཉིན་མོའི་ལས་མཚན་མོར་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

253 To sleep during the day, and search for lice at night.

༢༥༤ ཉིན་ལ་སློང་མཁན། མཚན་ལ་རྐུ་མཁན། དེ་འདྲའི་སྤྱོད་པ་དང་ལྡན་པའི་སློང་མོ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

254 A beggar during the day, and a thief at night.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༢༥༥ རྒྱང་ངེ་ཁར་རིད་པ། ནད་ཅིག་མ་དྭངས་པར་གཞན་ནད་ཅིག་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

255 When suffering from diarrhoea, he became torpid. (One suffering more than one malady at the same time.)

༢༥༦ ཉིན་ལ་རྐུན་མ་མ་རྐུ། རི་ག་ཚང་མ་མིག་ཡིན། མཚན་ལ་ཕག་གཏམ་མ་ལབ། རྩིག་མིག་ཚང་མ་རྣམ་ཅོག་ཡིན།

256 Steal not during the day, for the mountains are eyes; utter no secrets at night, for the crevice in the walls are ears.

༢༥༧ ཉུང་མ་ལ་རྒྱབ། ཉུང་མ་འཇུ་དཀའ་སྟེ། ཉུང་མ་ཟོས་ནས་འགྲུལ་དགོས་ཟེར།

257 Cross a pass after eating turnips. (They are indigestible, so exercise is necessary.)

༢༥༨ ཟ་བོ་ལ་ཕུག་དུད། བླ་དྭགས་ནང་གཟའ་བོ་པ་ལ་ཕུག་མའི་དུད་པ་མང་པོ་གཏོང་བས། དུ་བ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་སར་ཟེར།

258 The smoke from burning straw for those who fetch the bride.

༢༥༩ ཉེ་ཉེ་སྐྱེ་འཁོན། ཟོ་ཟོས་ཏེ་སྐྱུག། སེམས་ཉེ་བའི་མཛའ་བོ་དང་འཛིང་དུས་སུ་གཞན་གྱིས་ཟེར།

259 To be spiteful after an intimate friendship, and to vomit after much eating.

༢༦༠ སྙིང་གཏམ་ལུ་གུ་རྒྱུད། རང་གི་ཉེ་མོར་སྙིང་གཏམ་བཤད་ན། དེས་གཞན་ལ་བཤད་དེ། རིམ་གྱིས་དགྲ་བོས་ཀྱང་ཚོར།

260 Intimate confidences are like the links of a chain.

༢༦༡ སྙིང་སྣང་ཚིལ་ཞི་བཏུམ་སྐྱེ་འདུག། སྙིང་ཚིལ་གྱིས་བཏུམ་འདུར། རང་དོན་གྲུབ་ནས་སེམས་སྐྱིད་དེར་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

261 The heart is enveloped in fat (of a successful person enjoying peace of mind).

༢༦༢ སྙིང་ལ་སྙིང་ཚོར་མེད་ན། མིག་ལ་མིག་ཆུ་ཅི་ལ་འཁོར་ཡིན། ཁྱི་ཕོ་སིལ་ལྡིང་། སྔོན་བླ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་གཅེས་པར་འཛིན་པའི་ཁྱི་ཤི་བ་དང་། བུད་མེད་རེ་བཀུག་ནས་ངུས་མང་བཏང་བཙུག་པས། བུད་མེད་ཅིག་གིས་གོང་གི་བཤད་པ་བཏང་བ་དེ་གཏམ་དཔེར་ལུས་ཏེ། ངུ་རྫུན་བྱེད་དུས་ཟེར།

262 Oh Silding you dog, if one is free of sorrow, can one shed tears ? (i.e. a happy person cannot enter into the sorrows of others).

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༢༦༣ གཉིད་མ་ལོག་ག་ཉི་ལམ། སྔོན་སྔོན་དུ་གཙང་བསྐུལ་བྱས་ནས་ཕྱིས་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་འབྱུང་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

263 To dream before sleeping (of a person who gets a premonition of some future event).

༢༦༤ གཉིད་ལོག་པ་ལ་སྐལ་ལ་མེད། གཉིད་ལོག་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟས་སྐལ་སྦྱིན་མི་རུང་ཟེར་བཙོ།

264 There is no portion for the sleeper.

༢༦༥ གཉེན་བཟང་ནའང་ཏོ་སྒོར། ཞིང་ངན་ནའང་རྒྱབ་ཁུར། གཉེན་བཟང་པོ་བས་ཞིང་ངན་པ་ལས་ཕན་ཆེ་ཟེར་བའི་དཔེའོ།

265 From a good relative a cake; from a bad field a load. (A bad field produces more than good relatives do.)

༢༦༦ གཉེན་གྱི་མཐའ་རྒྱས་ན། མུ་གེའི་མཚོ་རྫོལ། གཉེན་མང་ན་ཟ་མཁན་མང་བས་མུ་གེ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

266 Possess many relations, and the sea of famine will flow upon you.

༢༦༧ གཉེན་རྩིས་མེད་པའི་ཕྱེན་རྩིས། ད་ར་སྐྱུར་མོའི་མགྲོན་ཐོམ། ཁ་ནས་གཉེན་རྩི་ཞིང་ལག་ནས་དར་བ་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་སྦྱིན་ན་ཟེར།

267 Let him who regards his relations as the wind, prepare a meal of buttermilk.

༢༦༨ མཉམ་པོ་འདུག་ན་བླ་མ་ལ་ཁྱོད། མཉམ་དུ་དུས་མང་ཙམ་སྡོད་པར་སྡེ་སྣང་མི་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

268 Through familiarity with his own priest, he used the term 'Thou'.

༢༦༩ ཉི་མ་ཤིག་གི་ཐོ་གང་། དགུན་གྱི་ཉི་མ་ཐུང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

269 The days are as short as the span of a flee.

༢༧༠ སྙིང་གཏམ་མ་བཤད་ན། གྲོགས་ཞུགས་མི་ཐེངས། སྙིང་གཏམ་མ་བཤད་པར་མཛའ་བོར་མི་འགྱུར་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

270 Unless you exchange confidences, you cannot be a real friend.

5

ཨང་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༢༧༡ ཏྲི་བི་ཁྲུ་གང་ཞོ་ཡར་ལ་བཏང་ནའང་ང་རང་འདོད། མར་ལ་བཏང་ནའང་ང་རང་འདོད། རང་དོར་ལ་རང་འདོད་བྱེད་ཆོག་ཟེར།

271 It is my own pleasure whether I turn the flaps of my cubit long hat upwards or downwards.

༢༧༢ ཏེ་ཙེས་མ་ཞིང་བཙོས་ཏེ་བག་མ་འཁྱིད་ཅེས། བུ་མོའི་སེམས་སླུ་རུ་ཅི་ཟེར་གང་ཟེར་ཟེར་བའི་དཔེའོ། ཏེ་ཙེས་ནི་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མ་ཞིང་ངོ།

272 To take a bride by pretending that Tetses is his chief field. (Tetses was the largest field belonging to the King of Ladakh, now it is the Leh bazar. This saying means that a man can deceive a woman by pretentious talk in order to marry her.)

༢༧༣ རྟ་གཡོག་ནས་ཆུ་མ་འཐུངས། མི་གཡོག་ནས་བཟན་མ་ཟོས། མིའི་གཡོག་གམ་གཞན་གྱི་སྐྱབས་ཀྱིས་བཟན་མ་ཟ་བར་གཞན་དྲིན་མི་འཁུར་བའི་མིས་རང་ཟན་ཟ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

273 I have not drunk water beneath a pony, nor ate my food under another man. (Used when a man declares his independence.)

༢༧༤ རྟ་རྒན་ལ་བཙོ་བ་བཙོ་ཅེས།

274 The aged horse simulates a young colt.

༢༧༥ རྟ་རྒན་ལ་ཡོར་ག། ན་སོ་ཡོལ་ནས་རྒྱས་ཁར་ཡོན་ཏན་བསླབ་ན་ཟེར།

275 The old horse learns to trot.

༢༧༦ རྟ་གཅིག་ལ་སྒ་གཉིས། མི་ཞིག་ལ་ཁྲལ་ལམ་ལས་ཀ་གཉིས་ལྷབ་བཀལ་ན་ཟེར།

276 Two saddles on one horse. (When a double share of work is demanded.)

༢༧༧ རྟ་ཆས་ལ་ཞོན་ཏེ། བོང་ཆས་ལ་བཀལ་ཅེས། ཅི་ཟེར་ལ་ཉན་པའི་མི་ཁ་ཁྲུ་འབོལ་མོ་རྟ་འདྲར་ཞོན་པ་དང་བོང་བུ་ལྟར་བཀལ་ཉན་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

277 To be ridden on as upon a horse; and to be used as if one were a donkey (of servants who act the rôle of 'the willing horse').

༢༧༨ རྟེ་ཐོག་ག་ལྡིང་སྟེ། མི་ཐོག་ག་འགྱུར་པེན། རྟར་ཞོན་ཏེ་མིའི་དཔོན་པོ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ཞིང་རང་སྟོད་བྱེད་པའོ།

278 I rode on horses, and was glorious in the eyes of the people (a boast).

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༢༧༩ རྟ་བསམ་བ་དང་གཡག་བསམ་བ། བོང་བུའི་བསམ་པ་ཁྲེད་ལ། རང་གི་སེམས་དྲང་པོའི་གཏམ་བྱེད་པ་དེ་གཞན་གྱིས་ལོག་པར་དུ་ཏ་གོ་ན་ཟེར། (རྟ་དང་གཡག་གི་བསམ་པ་དྲང་ཡང་བོང་བུའི་བསམ་པ་ལོག་པར་ཅན་ཟེར་བརྡོ)།

279 The mind of a horse, or yak, is not as crooked as that of a donkey.

༢༨༠ སྟོག་འཁོར་ན་ཀུན་འཁོར། ཕྱིའང་ཐང་ན་ཀུན་ཐང། གྲི་པས་གནམ་ཐང་འཁོར་གྱི་རྟགས་སུ་ཟེར།

280 If it is cloudy at Stok, the sky will be cloudy everywhere, and if it is clear at Piang, it will be clear everywhere.

༢༨༡ ཏོག་ལྷག་ལ་སྣ་འཕེར། འཕེར་དགོས་པའི་ཡུ་བ་མ་འཕེར་བར་ཏོག་ལྷག་འཕེར་བ་ལྟར། ཁྲེལ་མོད་པའི་མི་ཁྲིས་ན་ཟེར།

281 The head of the mattock vibrates.

༢༨༢ རྟ་མེད་དེ་ཡུལ་ལ་བོང་བུའི་སང་རག། སྒྱུ་རྩལ་ཅན་མེད་པའི་ཡུལ་ནང་མི་ཡོན་ཏན་མེད་པ་ལ་རྐྱུགས་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

282 Donkey races are held where there are no horses. (When a fool becomes influential among fools.)

༢༨༣ རྟ་ལྕག་གི་ཁ་ཁུ་བའི་ནང་ལ། བྱ་བ་ངན་པའི་ནང་ལ་ཆུང་ཟད་འདྲེས་ཀྱང་མང་པོ་འདྲེས་པ་དང་ཁྱད་མེད་པའི་དཔེར།

283 The tip of the whip in the juice.

༢༨༤ རྟ་བརྒྱའི་བདག་པོ་རྟ་ལྕག་མི་ལ་རེ། ཅི་ཙམ་ཕྱུག་ཀྱང་གཞན་ལ་རེ་དགོས་དང་གཡར་དགོས་འབྱུང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

284 The owner of a hundred horses borrowed a whip. (A wealthy man dependent on other people's help.)

༢༨༥ རྟ་ཚོད་མི་ཚོད་གོམ་བདུན། མི་དང་རྟ་སོགས་ཀྱི་བཟང་ངན་མགྱོགས་པར་ཤེས་པ་སླ་ཟེར།

285 Seven paces suffice to test a man and a horse.

༢༨༦ རྟའི་ཁྲེས་ལ་བོང་བུ་སྙོབ་ཅེས། མི་ཉམས་ཆུང་བ་སྙོབས་པོ་ཆེ་དང་འགྲན་ན་ཟེར།

286 A donkey attempts to reach up to the horse's manger.

༢༨༧ རྟ་ལ་སྨིག་པ་རྒྱབ་བ་མཐོང་སྟེ། བོང་བུས་ར་སྨོ་སྟན་འདུག། མི་འཕྲུད་མེད་ཅིག་གིས་འཕྲུད་ཅན་གྱི་ལད་མོ་བྱེད་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

287 The ass shows his hoof when watching a horse being shoed.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༢༨༨ རྟ་ཤ་ཟོས་ཏེ་ཁ་མཆུ་ཡོག་ནའང་ཡོག། རང་གི་འདོད་པ་གྲུབ་ནས་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ནའང་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

288 If my bill gets blunt, let it become so through pecking at the flesh of a horse.

༢༨༩ རྟ་སྐྱིབ་བོང་སྐྱིབ་མཉམ་དུ། རྟའི་རྗེས་བཞིན་བོང་བུའང་སྐྱིབ་པ་ལྟར། མི་ཕོགས་པོའི་བླར་བུལ་པོའང་ནོན་པའི་དཔེར།

289 The pony and the donkey arrived together (i.e. the donkey follows in the steps of the pony).

༢༩༠ རྟ་རིན་བང་དང་། གཡུ་རིན་མདོག། རྟའི་བང་དང་གཡུའི་མདོག་བཞིན་རིན་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

290 The price of a horse depends upon its paces, and that of the turquoise upon its colour.

༢༩༡ རྟགས་ཅིའི་རྟགས། མི་བརྗེད་པའི་རྟགས། རྟགས་ནི་མི་བརྗེད་པའི་རྟགས་ཡིན་པས། རིན་ཅན་མེད་ནའང་འགྲིག་ཟེར་བའོ།

291 What does a gift indicate? It indicates remembrance.

༢༩༢ རྟས་འཕང་སྐྱོང་ང་། དཔོན་པོས་བཀྱོན་སྐྱོང་ང་། རྟས་འཕང་དུས་དང་གཡོག་པོར་ཁ་འཕོག་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

292 I suffered a fall from a horse, and a rebuke from my master.

༢༩༣ རྟས་བང་བཏང་བ་ལ། ཡན་ལག་གད་པ་ལ་འཁད། ལས་བྱེད་དུས་དང་འགྲུལ་དུས་སུ་གེགས་ཤིག་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

293 As the horse was galloping, his course was arrested by a precipice.

༢༩༤ ལྟད་མོ་མིག་གི་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཡིན། ལྟད་མོ་མིག་འབའ་ཞིག་གི་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཡིན་ཟེར།

294 A performance is the joy of the eyes.

༢༩༥ ལྟ་རག་ལ་ཐ་གྲུ་ཁྲུ་གང་ཚོར་ན། ཕྱུག་པོ་ལ་ནམ་མི་ལངས། དབུལ་པོའི་ནོར་ལ་ཕྱུག་པོས་ཕྲག་དོག་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

295 If the poor obtain a cubit length of rope, the rich cannot sleep.

༢༩༦ ལྟ་རག་ཕྱུག་པོ་ཆ་ན་ས་མི་མཐོང་། ཕྱུག་པོ་ལྟ་རག་ཆ་ན་གནམ་མི་མཐོང་། ནོར་ལས་སྒྲིབས་པ་དང་ནོར་ཟད་པ་ལས་སྒྲིབས་པ་ཤོར་ཟེར།

296 If a pauper becomes rich, he cannot see the ground, and if a rich man becomes poor he cannot see the sky.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༢༩༧ ལྟེ་ཁྲག་ཤིག་སའི་མ་ཁང་། རང་སྐྱེས་ནས་ལྟེ་བ་བཅད་དེ་ཁྲག་ཤིགས་པའི་མ་ཁང་དང་འབྲེལ་ཆེ་བ་ཡོད་པའི་དོན་དུ་ཟེར།

297 The home where blood from my navel has fallen.

༢༩༨ སྟག་སྣ་ནས་ཁྱི་ཡོང་འདུག་ཟེར་ཏེ། ཞ་འབུག་ནས་རྡོ་བ་འཁུར་ཅེས། དུས་ལས་སྔོན་དུ་མི་རིགས་པའི་གྲལ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

298 To carry stones from Zhabuk village on hearing there is a dog at Stagna (i.e. making preparation prematurely).

༢༩༩ སྟག་གི་རི་མོ་ཕྱི་ནས། མིའི་རི་མོ་ནང་ནས། མིའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ནི་ནང་གི་བློ་གྲོས་ཡིན། ཕྱི་གཟིག་པོ་བྱེད་པ་ནི་མིའི་ཡོན་ཏན་མན་ཟེར་བའོ།

299 The pattern of the tiger is on the outside, and that of a man on the inside.

༣༠༠ སྟག་པའི་མལ་ལ་སྟག་པ། ཤུག་པའི་མལ་ལ་ཤུག་པ། ཕའི་མལ་དུ་བུ་ཚ་དང་། མའི་མལ་དུ་བུ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

300 A birch tree where there was a birch; a cedar where there was a cedar.

༣༠༡ སྟན་ནི་གཡོག་ནས་ཁྱི་ཤིག་འཕར་ཅེས། འཁྲུད་དང་འདོར་བདེ་མེད་པ་ཞིག་གིས་མི་འཁྲུད་པ་ཅན་དང་འགྲན་ཏེ་འབར་ཙོ་ན་ཟེར།

301 The flee hopped up from under the carpet. (When a man tries to argue with his betters.)

༣༠༢ སྟོད་ན་རང་སང་རྒྱལ་བས་སྟོད། སྨད་ན་རང་སང་ཞུ་བས་སྨད། མི་བཟང་པོས་སྟོད་པར་དགའ་བ་དང་ངན་པས་སྨད་པར་དགའ་ཟེར།

302 If you are praised, it will be by one better than yourself; if you are defamed, it will be by one worse than yourself.

༣༠༣ སྟོར་པའི་སྟ་རི་ཕ་ལམ་པ། གཡར་ཁྱོངས་པ་ཞིག་སྟོར་ན། བདག་པོས་རིན་གང་བཅད་འཇལ་དགོས་པའི་དཔེར།

303 It was an axe made of a diamond which was lost. (When an article is lost, and the owner demands heavy restitution.)

༣༠༤ གཏམ་མཁས་པས་བུ་ལོན་མི་འཁོར། མཁས་པའི་ཚིག་ནི་དངུལ་ཚབ་མི་འགྱུར་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན།

304 Wise talk does not pay a debt.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༣༠༥ གཏམ་ཐོ་ངོས་ལ། སྐྲ་ལོ་རྒྱབ་ལ། སྐྲ་ལོ་རྒྱབ་ཏུ་མཛེས་པ་ལྟར། གཏམ་ཟེར་དགོས་ཡོད་པ་མདུན་ལ་ཟེར་བ་ལེགས་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

305 Straight forward speech, and one's hair on the back of one's head.

༣༠༦ ཏམ་ཏམ་ཏ་མ་ཤ། བྲ་བྲ་མ་མ་ཤ། རིབ་ཞའི་པོ་ལོ་མ་ནེ་ཟ་མི་ཤེས། ཛ་ལག་སྐོ་མ་ནེ་འཐུང་མི་ཤེས། ཁ་ཟས་ཞིམ་པོ་ཟ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

306 Baba Mohammad Shah is peculiar. He knows only how to eat Pilao, or drink tea from China.

༣༠༧ གཏམ་གསུམ་མ་ལབ་ན། ཕ་དང་བུའི་བརྡ་མི་འཕྲོད། གོམ་གསུམ་མ་རྒྱབ་ན། ལུང་པ་གསུམ་མི་ཚོ་མི་ཕེད། གཏམ་གསལ་པོ་མ་ཟེར་ན། ཕ་དང་བུའི་བར་དུ་གོ་བ་ལོག་སྲིད་ཟེར།

307 If not even three syllables are uttered one could not distinguish between father and son; and if you do not walk three paces, one could not recognize the three valleys.

༣༠༨ སྟོན་ལ་བོང་བུས་ཀྱང་ནས་ཟ། སྟོན་དུས་དབུལ་པོ་ལ་ཡང་ཟ་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

308 In autumn even the donkeys feed on barley (i.e. in autumn even the poor are satisfied if they may glean the fields).

༣༠༩ སྟོན་དར་ཁྱི་ལ་མ་བཏང་། ནམ་ཟླ་བསིལ་བ་ཡོད་པས་འཕོག་ཡོང་ཟེར།

309 Don't give your dog buttermilk in the autumn. (In autumn the milk is specially rich.)

༣༡༠ གཏམ་ཚང་ཆང་གིས་བཏོན། ཤིག་ཚང་ཉི་མས་བཏོན། ཤིག་ཡོད་པའི་གོས་ཉི་མར་བཞག་ན། ཤིག་ཚང་གི་ནང་ནས་འཐོན་པ་ལྟར། རས་བཟེས་པའི་ཁ་ནང་ནས་གསང་གཏམ་འཐོན་ཟེར།

310 Beer disturbs the nest of speech; the sun stirs up the nest of lice.

༣༡༡ གཏམ་མང་འཚོལ་བ་ཡིན། ཟས་མང་སྐྱུག་པ་ཡིན།

311 Much talk is useless; much food the cause of vomiting.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༣༡༢ ཏ་རུ་ཏང་ཏང་མེད་ན་རགས་མེད། ཏ་ལི་ལང་ལང་མེད་ན་སྐྱགས་མེད། རགས་དང་སྐྱགས་
སློབ་པར་ཟེར།

312 No tarutang-tang no tune: no talilanglang no melady. (These are songs which Ladakhis first begin to learn.)

༣༡༣ སྟོན་མཚན་ཕེད་དེ་ཟས་མི་དགོས། དབྱར་ཉིན་ཕེད་དེ་གཉིད་མི་དགོས།

313 During autumn you don't need food at midnight: in summer, you do not want sleep at midday.

ཐ

༣༡༤ ཐག་པ་ཆད་ན་ཁུར་པ་ཡང་། གཏཾ་ཐག་ཆོད་ན་སེམས་ཁམས་སང་འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

314 If the rope snaps the load will be light. (If you can decide a matter through discussion one's mind feels lighter.)

༣༡༥ ཐབས་གཅིག་དོན་གཉིས། བྱ་བ་གཅིག་གི་ནང་ན་ལས་དོན་གཉིས་འགྲུབ་ན་ཟེར།

315 Two purposes achieved by one method (i.e. when travelling you see the country and also improve your health).

༣༡༦ ཐིགས་པ་བསགས་པ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ཉུང་ངུ་ནས་སོག་ན་མང་པོར་འགྱུར་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

316 Many drops make an ocean.

༣༡༧ ཐུ་ན་ཨ་མའི་བུ་གཞུང་ལ་ཐུ། བར་དོ་འབྱུང་ན་ནང་གི་དོ་དམ་པ་ལ་འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

317 If harm comes, it will fall upon the beloved son (i.e. if difficulties arise, they will fall on the principal and not on the worker).

༣༡༨ ཐུ་ཟེར་ན་རང་ངེ་གདོང་ངེ་ཁ། གཞན་ལ་སྨད་པའམ་ཁྲེལ་བའི་གཏམ་དེ་རང་ལ་འཁོག་རྒྱུ་
ཡོད་ན་ཟེར།

318 If he spits, his spittle will recoil on his own face.

༣༡༩ ཐུ་མི་ཐུ། ཐུ་ན་རང་རང་ཐུ། ཐུ་ན་རང་གི་གཉེན་ཟླུང་དང་རང་མིས་ལྷག་པར་དགྲ་བྱེད་པ་
འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

319 Perhaps one's friend will not do one harm; but if he does so, he will inflict the greatest injury to you.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༣༢༠ ཐོད་པའི་ཁ་མིག་འཁྱུར་མཁན། མི་ཧར་ཧུར་ཐབ་ཐོབ་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

320 He has his eyes in his forehead. (To be careless and thoughtless.)

༣༢༡ ཐོ་བ་ལ་ནོན་མེད་ན། ལྕགས་ལ་ཟེན་ལངས། དཔོན་པོ་ལ་འཕྲུད་མེད་ན་བྲན་འཁོར་ནང་དུ་
འཁྲུག་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

321 The iron will rise up, if there is not the pressure of the hammer. (Of a weak king or master who exerts no control over underlings.)

༣༢༢ ཐོས་ཚད་གཏམ་མིན། མཐོང་ཚད་ཟས་མིན། གཏམ་ཚང་མ་ལ་ཡིད་མ་ཆེས་ཟེར་རོ།

322 All that one hears is not speech: all that one sees is not food.

༣༢༣ ཐོའག་ཟེར་པ་རྐུན་མའི་མགོ་ལ། མི་ནོངས་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཆོན་ལ་གཏམ་ཞིག་འཕོག་ཀ་ཟེར།

323 A thwack on the head of a thief.

༣༢༤ ཐག་རིང་ངེ་གཉེན་སང་། ཉེ་མོའི་དགྲ་རྒྱལ། དཀག་སྡུག་གི་དུས་སུ་ཐག་རིང་གི་གཉེན་ལས་
མདུན་གྱི་དགྲ་བོས་ཕན་འདོགས་སོ་ཟེར།

324 Better a nearby enemy than a relation far away.

༣༢༥ ཐོད་པའི་ཁ་ཁྱི་བྲིས་ཀན། བསོད་བདེ་མེད་པའི་ཐོད་པའི་ཁར་བོད་ཀྱིས་ཁྱི་བྲིས་ཡོད་སེམས་སོ།

325 The word 'dog' is written on his forehead.

༣༢༦ མཐོན་པོས་བཅད་པའི་དམའ་བཟང་པོ། ཁྲིམས་དཔོན་གྱིས་བཅད་པའི་འཕམ་ལ་དགའ་ཟེར་བའི་
དོན་ཡིན།

326 Abasement is the better policy when it is decreed by a higher authority.

༣༢༧ མཐོ་རྩེ་མཁར་རི་ཁ་ཐེང་སྐྱེ། ཏ་མག་ཏོབ་གང་འཐུང་ཙམ་ཆ་ནའང་སོང་། ལས་སྐྱེ་ཆེན་པོ་
ཞིག་སྒྲིབ་ཙམ་ཐོབ་ནའང་འགྲིག་ཟེར།

327 One pipeful of tobacco suffices, provided I reach the lofty castle.

༣༢༨ མཐོན་པོ་ནས་རྩྭ་ཟོས་ཏེ། དམའ་མོ་ནས་ཆུ་འཐུང་མཁན། གཞན་དང་འགྲིམ་འགྲུལ་མི་བྱེད་
པར་འཁྲུག་པའི་ནང་མི་འཛིས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

328 He ate herbs on high ground, and drank water on low ground.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༣༢༩ མཐོ་སྟེ་ཆ་ན་རྭ་ཙོ་ལ་འཐོག། དམའ་སྟེ་ཆ་ན་ཙོ་རྭ་ལ་འཐོག། གཏམ་ཟེར་བ་ལས་མཐོས་ན་མི་ཆེན་དང་། དམའ་བར་གྱུར་ན་མི་ཆུང་བ་དག་ལ་འཐོག་ཀྱུ་ཡོད་ན་ཟེར།

329 If you aim high it will strike the horn, and if low it will hit the base of the horn.

༣༣༠ མཐོན་པོ་ནས་ཆུ་ལ་མ་ལྟ། དམའ་མོ་ནས་རི་ལ་མ་ལྟ། ཐག་རིང་ནས་རི་དང་ཆུ་སྔོ་མོ་མཐོང་ཡང་། ཉེ་བར་ཕྱིན་ནས་མི་ཐར་ཟེར་བའོ།

330 Look not at a river from an elevation, or a mountain from a plain.

ད

༣༣༡ ད་རུང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷུན་པོ་གར། ད་རུང་ཐག་རིང་ཡོད་ཟེར་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

331 Trashi Hlunpo is still far away. (When one's destination is still a long way off.)

༣༣༢ དྭ་ཚོ་མགོ་རྒྱལ། མ་ཤི་གོག་ཡངས། དྭ་ཚོ་ཕ་མེད་པ་ང་རྒྱལ་ཅན་དང་། མ་ཤི་ན་གོ་ག་ཡང་སང་སང་སོང་ནས། ཕྲུ་གུ་རང་འཐད་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

332 The orphan grew obstinate, and the motherless heart became desolate.

༣༣༣ དྲུག་པོ་ལ་གཉེན་མང་པོ། གོས་ཧྲུལ་ཆད་པོ་ལ་ཤིང་དང་ཚེར་མ་སོགས་འཁད་པས་དེ་འདྲ་ཟེར་རོ།

333 Rags have many relations. (Of old clothes which get caught on thorns and other obstacles.)

༣༣༤ དྲུག་པོའི་འོག་ན་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྐུ། གོས་རྙིང་གོན་པའི་མི་ཁེངས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

334 The Buddha underneath rags. (The good man who wears old clothes and is not conceited.)

༣༣༥ དེང་སང་ངེ་མི་དང་རང་འཐག་ཆུང་སྐོར་འདྲ། དེང་སང་གི་མི་ཆ་བཞག་མེད་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་རོ།

335 The people of today are like a windmill (i.e. changeable).

༣༣༦ དང་ར་སྒོ་མེད། ཨ་ནེ་ཁྱོག་མེད། ཁྱོ་མེད་པའི་བུད་མེད་ལ་བལྟས་ནས་ཟེར།

336 A stable without a door; a woman without a husband (of an unmarried woman).

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༣༣༧ དུས་རྣམས་མི་འགྱུར། མི་རྣམས་འགྱུར། དོན་སླ་མོ་ཡིན།

337 The times do not change; it is men who change.

༣༣༨ དུག་ཟ་གཅིག་ཤི། མནའ་ཟ་བརྒྱ་ཤི། མནའ་འཁྱུར་ན་བུ་བརྒྱུད་ཀུན་ལ་འང་གནོད་པས། མནའ་ནི་དུག་པས་ཉེན་ཆེ་བ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

338 One man dies through taking poison: a hundred through swearing oaths. (Tibetans think that swearing an oath is more dangerous than taking poison as a false oath re-acts on a man's descendants.)

༣༣༩ དུས་གཅིག་ལ་ལས་གཅིག། མགོ་རལ་པ་ཅན་ལ་སྔས་གཅིག། དུས་ཀྱི་ཁར་ཕོ་མོ་ཁྱི་ཤུག་ཏུ་འཛོམ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

339 One deed at a time; and one pillow for hairy heads.

༣༤༠ དོན་མེད་དེ་མི་ལ་དགོས་མེད་དེ་ཁོང་འཁྲོ། བྲེལ་བ་མེད་པའི་མིས་འབར་བ་དང་ཁྲོས་ན་ཟེར།

340 Needless anger towards him who is unconnected with it.

༣༤༡ ཧོམ་སྙིང་ངེས་མ་བསམས་ན། ཀོར་མིག་གིས་མི་མཐོང་། སྙིང་ཧོམ་ཧོམ་གྱིས་མ་བསམ་ན། མིག་ཀོར་ཀོར་གྱིས་མི་མཐོང་ཟེར།

341 You cannot see with your round eyes, if you do not think with your oval heart.

༣༤༢ དྲང་རྡེ་ལ་སྐྱག་རྒྱབ་ཅེས། སེམས་རབ་ཏུ་འཐད་དེ་འགྱུལ་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

342 To stumble over a pebble (of a man in exuberant spirits).

༣༤༣ དྲང་པོའི་བསྟན་པ་ཆུས་ཀྱང་མི་འཁྱེར། མེས་ཀྱང་མི་འཁྱེར། མི་ཤིན་ཏུ་དྲང་པོ་ལ་གནོད་པ་མི་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

343 Truth cannot be destroyed by water or fire.

༣༤༤ རྡོ་ཆེན་བཏག་ག་ལ་རྡོ་ཆུང་དགོས། མི་ཆེན་བཏག་ག་ལ་མི་ཆུང་དགོས། མི་ཆུང་ང་མེད་ན་མི་ཆེན་ཡང་མེད་ཟེར།

344 Small stones to raise large ones, insignificant men to lift up the great.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༣༤༥ རྡོ་སྐམ་ལ་མེ་མི་འབར། ཤིང་རློན་ལ་མེ་འབར། ཤིང་རློན་པ་ཡོད་ནའང་མེར་འཕུ་ཐུབ་ཟེར།

345 Wet wood can be burned, though dry stones cannot be consumed. (When a man has to burn wet fuel.)

༣༤༦ རྡོ་བ་ལ་གདོང་དགུ། རྡོ་བ་ཞིག་ཇི་ལྟར་བཟོ་མེད་ཡོད་རུང་ལ་ལོག་ཐོ་ཡིན་ཙེ་རྡོར་འགད་ཟེར།

346 A stone has nine facets (i.e. even the worst stone can be used for building a wall).

༣༤༧ སྡུག་པོར་འཁོར། སྐྱིད་པོར་འབོད། སྡུག་པོའི་དུས་ལ་མ་འབོད་པར་སོང་། མགྲོན་ལྟ་བུར་བོས་ནས་མ་གཏོགས་པར་མ་འགྲོ་ཟེར།

347 Meet those who are in trouble, but wait to be called by those in prosperity.

༣༤༨ གདོང་བཏུམ་སྟེ་འདུག་མཁན། མགྲོན་ལན་མི་གཏོང་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

348 He who lives with his face covered. (Of a man who does not return a feast.)

༣༤༩ གདོང་འཐུག་མོ། མི་ཁྲེལ་མེད་ཅིག་ལ་ཟེར།

349 Thick-faced. (Of a shameless person.)

༣༥༠ གདོང་ལ་ཆུ་སེར་མེད་མཁན། ཁྲེལ་ངོ་ཚ་མེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

350 He has no serum on his face (i.e. shameless and unfaithful person).

༣༥༡ གདོང་ལ་ཀོ་བ་བཏུམ་མཁན།

351 His face is covered with leather (i.e. shameless and unfaithful person).

༣༥༢ གདོང་ལེགས་ཀྱི་མེ་ཤོར། བུད་གཟུགས་མཛེས་པས་ཁྲེལ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

352 The beautiful face was burnt with fire (of a beautiful woman who commits evil deeds).

༣༥༣ བདེ་སྡུག་གཉིས་ལ་མ་ལྟ་ན། ཀོ་བའི་ཞྭ་མོ་ལོ་དགུ། མཛེས་པོར་མ་ལྟ་ན། ཀོ་བའི་ཞྭ་མོ་ལོ་མང་འཚོ་འོ་ཟེར།

353 He who does not regard that which is becoming and beautiful, can always wear a coarse skin hat.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༣༥༤ བདུན་ཅོག། བརྒྱད་ཅེར། དགུར་ལང་། ཕྲུ་གུ་ལ་ཟླ་བ་བདུན་ལོན་དུས་ཅོག་ཙུ་སྡོད།
ཟླ་བ་བརྒྱད་པར་ཅེར་ཅེར་ལང་། དགུ་པར་ཀག་ལང་བའི་གཏམ་དཔེར།

354 A child of seven months can sit up, at eight months he can lift himself up, at nine months he can stand up.

༣༥༥ མདའ་གཞུ་མེད་ན་གཏམ་ངན་མེད། མིག་མེད་ན་ཞིང་ཏོག་མེད། ལས་སྣེ་སོགས་ཡོད་པ་
བས་མེད་པ་རྒྱལ་ཟེར།

355 No bow and arrow, no slander; no eyes, no cataract. (A man without rank cannot be degraded.)

༣༥༦ མདུན་གྱི་མེ་དང་རྒྱང་གི་ཉི་མ། ས་ཐག་རིང་གི་གཉེན་བཟང་ལས། ཉེ་སྐོར་ཡོད་པའི་གཉེན་
ལས་ཕན་ཐོགས་ཆེ་ཟེར།

356 The fire is in front of you, and the sun in the distance. (The poor friend near you is better than a—relation far away.)

༣༥༧ འདོམ་ན་ཁྱི་རྐྱག་ཛས་ལ་མི་འཚོར། དགོས་དུས་སུ་མི་འདོད་པའི་དངོས་པོ་ཡང་མི་ཐོབ་
ཟེར།

357 When a thing is wanted, one cannot even collect a dog's excrement.

༣༥༨ འདོམ་བ་འདོམ་གང་། འདོམ་པ་འཀྱག་པའི་དུས་ནི་སྤྲིབ་གཅིག་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

358 The length of necessity is only one fathom.

༣༥༩ འདུ་ཤེས་གསུམ་པ། དུད་འགྲོས་ཟ་བ་དང་འཐུང་དང་ཉལ་བ་གསུམ་ལས་མི་ཤེས་པས་མི་
གླེན་པ་དང་དུད་འགྲོ་ལ་ཟེར།

359 He possesses only three ideas (i.e. to eat, drink and sleep).

༣༦༠ འདྲེ་ཕྱི་མིག་མི་ལོག། དྲན་མི་དྲན་པར་རྗོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

360 Ghosts do not look behind them.

༣༦༡ གདོང་ཤིང་བཅག་ཅེས། གཞན་གྱི་གདོང་གི་ཐད་ཀར་ཤིང་གཅོག་པ་ལྟར། མིའི་ངོ་ལ་མ་
ལྟ་བར་ཁ་དྲང་ལ་གཏམ་བྱེད་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

361 To snap a twig in the face of a man (of an honest man who speak truth without regard of man).

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༣༦༢ ལྡུམ་ར་ལྕགས་ཀྱི་དོང་མོ། ཞུགས་ས་ལ་སླ་མོ། འཐེང་བ་ལ་དཀགས་པོ། ལྡུམ་ར་ཡུལ་སྐྱིད་པས། དེར་ཕྱིན་སླ་ཡང་འཐོན་པ་དཀའ་ཟེར་རོ།

362 Nubra is like an iron pipe; it is easy to enter it, but difficult to get out of it. (A pleasant country from which one is reluctant to depart.)

༣༦༣ སྡུག་པོའི་ཁ་རྐྱག་པ། སྡུག་བསྔལ་གྱི་ཁར་གཞན་སྡུག་བསྔལ་འོང་ན་ཟེར།

363 To be bitten by a dog when one is in trouble.

༣༦༤ རྡོ་བ་འབབ་ནའང་འབབ། ཀུ་ཤུ་འབབ་ནའང་འབབ། ཁྲིམས་ཐག་བཟང་ངན་ཅི་ཆོད་ནའང་ཆོད་ཟེར།

364 Be it a stone or an apple, let it fall.

༣༦༥ དུད་པ་ཅན་གྱི་མེ་དྲོན་མོ། རུས་པ་ཅན་གྱི་ཤ་ཞིམ་པོ། དུ་བ་འཐུང་དུས་དང་རུས་པ་ཅན་གྱི་ཤ་ཟ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

365 A smoky fire is warm, and meat with much bone is delicious.

༣༦༦ དེ་རིང་ཤི་ན་ཚེ་ཐུང་ཡིན། ཐོ་རེ་ཤི་ན་ཚེ་རིང་ཡིན། འཛིང་འཐབ་ཀྱི་དུས་ལ་རང་སྲོག་ལ་མི་ལྟ་བས་ཟེར།

366 If I die to-day life will be short, if to-morrow, it will be long. (When in a quarrel a man is careless of his life.)

༣༦༧ འདུག་འདུགས་པའི་བོང་བུ་རྩྭ་མི་ཟ། ལས་བྱེད་ཡོབས་མེད་པས་ལས་བྱེད་ནས་ཙ་ཐུག་དུས་ཟེར།

367 A lazy donkey cannot even eat grass (of a man who gets tired easily).

༣༦༨ སྡིག་ཅན་བླ་མས་སྐྱབ་མི་ཐུབ། གནག་ཅན་དཔོན་པོས་སྐྱབ་མི་ཐུབ།

368 A priest cannot save the sinner, nor a judge acquit the criminal.

ན

༣༦༩ ན་མཁན་ནི་ཁྲོད་ལ་མི་ན་མཁན། གཞན་གྱི་འབྲུག་པ་དང་ཉོན་མོངས་ནང་འདྲེས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

369 A healthy man amongst sick people.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༣༧༠ ན་ནིང་ངེ་ལོ་བཟང་པོ། ཤི་མཁན་ནི་མི་བཟང་པོ། འདས་པའི་ལོ་ཏོག་དང་མི་ངན་པ་ལ་
སྨོད་ན་ཟེརོ།

370 Last year was a good year; and the deceased was a good man.

༣༧༡ ནང་པོ་སྨུན་འཐིབ་ག་བོར་ཏེ། མས་ཇིད་ལ་གཟེམས་ཏིང་། རང་ལ་ཟ་རྒྱུ་མེད་དེ་སྦྱིན་པ་
སྦྱིན་ན་ཟེར།

371 Leaving his house in darkness, he lit a lamp in the mosque.

༣༧༢ ནང་ལ་སེང་གེ། ཕྱི་ལ་ཝ་ཙེ། རང་གི་མི་ལ་དྲག་པོ་དང་ཕྱིའི་མི་ལ་འཇིགས་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

372 Inside his house he is a lion, outside it he is like a fox. (One who is a terror to his kith and kin, and to outsiders a sycophant.)

༣༧༣ ནངས་མེད་ལ་གཏང་ན། ཆ་མེད་ལ་འཕོག།

373 If you strike at random, you may hit someone unconsciously.

༣༧༤ ནལ་བུ་མི་མིན། གློ་བ་ཤ་མིན། མཆིན་པ་ཁྲག་མིན། ནལ་བུ་ལ་སྨད་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

374 A bastard is not a man, the lung is not meat, and the liver is not blood. (When scoffing at a bastard.)

༣༧༥ ཐུ་སྒལ་ལ་ཁ་གཉིས། མི་ལ་ཁ་གཅིག། ཁ་ཆད་མི་སྲུང་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

375 A sheep-bag has two mouths, but man has one mouth. (When a man breaks his promise.)

༣༧༦ ནོར་ཕྱུག་པའི་སྒོ་ལ། མི་ཕྱུག་པོར་ནོར་ཁྲི་སྟོང་ཐོབ་དུས་སུའམ་ཆེན་ལ་ཐོབ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

376 Wealth comes to the doorstep of the rich. (When a rich man increases his wealth.)

༣༧༧ ནང་ལ་མཚལ་བོར་ཏེ། ཕྱི་ནས་བཙག་བཙལ་ཅེས། རང་གི་ནང་ལ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་དེ་ཕྱི་
ནས་དེ་ལས་ཞུ་བ་བཙལ་ན་ཟེར།

377 Whilst having vermilion in his house, he went off to seek red ochre outside. (When a man seeks an inferior thing whilst possessing something superior.)

༣༧༨ ནོངས་མེད་ན་གཤིན་རྗེ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཅི་ལ་འཇིགས་ཡིན། ནོངས་མེད་ན་གང་ལ་འང་
འཇིགས་དགོས་མེད་ཟེར་རོ།

378 If you are innocent, then why should you fear the judge of the dead ?

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༣༧༨ ནོར་མེད་ལ་རྐུན་མ་མེད། ཁུར་མེད་ལ་ཇག་པ་མེད། ནོར་མེད་ལ་ཇག་རྐུན་གྱི་འཇིགས་པ་མེད་ཟེར།

379 No thief to him who is without wealth, no robber of one who is unencumbered with possessions.

༣༨༠ ནོར་བུ་ལ་ས་གནམ་གྱིས་སྡང། ནོར་བུ་ལ་མི་མ་ཟད་ས་དང་གནམ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་ཕྲག་དོག་བྱེད་ཟེར།

380 Even earth and sky covet a gem. (When a valuable article is lost.)

༣༨༡ ནོར་བོ་ཨ་ཞེ། མི་བོ་རྫོག་པོ། སུ་གང་གི་ནོར་ལས་ཟ་ཞིང་ནོར་བདག་ལ་སྨད་ན་ཟེར།

381 Wealth is fascinating: and its owner is ugly (of one who benefits from riches, but bears malice to him who provides it).

༣༨༢ ནོར་ཕྱུག་མན། པགས་ཕྱུག་ཡིན། དུད་འགྲོ་མང་ཡང་ཤི་ནས་པགས་པ་ལུས་པའི་དཔེའོ།

382 It is not wealth in cattle, but wealth in hides. (When many cattle die.)

༣༨༣ ནོར་འབེ་ད་ལ་འང་འབྱོར་ཆེན། ནོར་ཡོད་པ་འཇིགས་པོ་མན་ཟེར་རོ།

383 Even musicians can acquire wealth. (Musicians are regarded as low caste in Ladakh.)

༣༨༤ ནོར་འཁྱུག་དུས་སེམས་མ་ཁྱུགས། སེམས་འཁྱུག་དུས་ནོར་མ་ཁྱུགས། ནོར་ཡོད་དུས་སུ་བསམ་པ་མ་ཡོངས། བསམ་པ་ཆུད་དུས་ནོར་ཚར་ཟེར་རོ།

384 When riches are acquired, the mind is impoverished, and when the mind is under control, one is without riches.

༣༨༥ ནོར་མེད་སང་ཉམས་མེད་སྡུ། ནོར་གྱི་ཉམས་མེད་པ་ནི་ནོར་མེད་པ་བས་སྡུ་ཟེར་རོ།

385 To be inexperienced is worse than to lack money.

༣༨༦ ནོར་ཨ་ཞི་ཡོད་ན། ཕྱུམ་བག་མ་འཐད་འཐད། ནོར་ཡོད་ན་ཇི་དགོས་ཚང་མ་ཐོབ་ཐུབ་ཟེར་རོ།

386 For a wealthy man there are many brides. (A man with money can obtain anything he likes.)

༣༨༧ གནམ་ཐང་ལ་གོང་མོ། བདེ་བར་ཡོད་དུས་སུ་མི་བདེ་བ་ཞིག་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

387 A ptarmigan on a fine day. (If a ptarmigan flees into a village it is thought to be an ill-omen—Also when a man becomes angry suddenly.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༣༨༨ གནམ་ལ་ཅི་ཤར་མི་ཤར་མ་ཤར་ཞིག། སྐར་མ་དུ་བ་མཇུག་རིང་མ་ཤར་ཞིག། ས་ལ་ཅི་སྐྱེ་མི་སྐྱེ་མ་སྐྱེ་ཞིག། དུག་གི་ལོ་མ་མ་སྐྱེས་ཞིག། གནམ་ལ་དུ་བ་མཇུག་རིང་ཤར་ན་ལྟས་ངན་བརྩིས་ཏེ་ཟེར།

388 May nothing appear in the sky, neither a comet, nor may nothing grow on the earth, nor even a poisonous plant.

༣༨༩ གནམ་དང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བྱ་བ་མིས་མི་ཤེས། སེང་གེ་ཉལ་ས་ཝས་མི་ཤེས། གནམ་དང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཚོད་འཛིན་མི་ནུས་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

389 Common people do not understand the affairs of the heavens and the king, nor does the fox know the lion's lair.

༣༩༠ གནོད་ན་ཁ་ནང་གི་སོ་ཡང་ཕུད། གནོད་ན་རང་གི་མི་མ་ཟད་སོ་ཡང་ཕྱུང་ཟེར།

390 If it is harmful, then pull out even the tooth from your mouth. (Don't hesitate to expel an obnoxious relation or child from your house and society if his influence is harmful.)

༣༩༡ རྣམ་རྟོག་དགྲ་ལང་། རྣམ་རྟོག་བྱས་ཏེ་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

391 Doubt rises up as your enemy.

༣༩༢ སྣ་ཁུང་ལ་བསེ་རྫུ་ཕོག་སྟེ་མ་ནེ་ཏ་མི་གོ། ནང་གི་དུགས་ཚ་ན་ཕོག་ནས་ནང་བྱེད་ལུགས་ཏ་གོ་ཡང་ཟེར།

392 You cannot understand until the cold wind blows upon your nose.

༣༩༣ སྣམ་སྦྲག་ནས་མེ་ཐེང་སྨེ་སམ་འདལ་འཚིག་ཅེས། རང་གི་མིའི་ནང་ནས་དགྲ་ལངས་ཏེ་ཁྲིལ་ཕུད་དུས་ཟེར།

393 Fire issued from his pocket and singed his beard (of friends and relations who give evidence in court against a man).

༣༩༤ ནོར་མེད་འཚོང་ས་ལ་ཆ་ན་ཉོ་འདོད། ནོར་མེད་པས་ནོར་མཐོང་སྙེ་ཉོ་ཅེས་འཐད་ན་ཟེར།

394. Being without money, he arrived at the market and wished to buy things.

༣༩༥ ནོར་ལག་པའི་དྲི་མ་ཡིན། ནོར་ལ་གོད་འབྱུང་དུས་ཟེར།

395 Wealth is the dirt of your hands.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༣༩༦ ནུ་རུའི་ལན་ལ་སྔོ་ཉིའི་ཟེ། བཟང་ལན་ངན་པས་འཇལ་ན་ཟེར། སྤྱལ་ཏིའི་གཏམ་དཔེ་ཟླ་
དྭགས་པས་ཟེར།

396 In return for good, he rendered evil.

༣༩༧ སྟོད་བརྒྱ་ལ་ཁ་ལེབ་སུས་བཀབ་ཡིན། མི་མང་གི་ཁ་ལ་ལག་པ་བཀབ་མི་ཐུབ་ཟེར།

397 Who can put a lid on a hundred pots? (Used when many people speak ill of one. You can silence a few, but impossible when there are many excuses.)

༣༩༨ གནམ་ཡོག་ན་མཛུབ་གུས་སྣང་མི་ཐུབ། དབང་ཅན་གྱིས་གནོད་སྐྱེལ་ན། ཞན་པས་དེ་ཟློག་
མི་ཐུབ་ཟེར།

398 When the sky falls on you, you cannot lift it up with your fingers. (If the powerful influential afflict you, you cannot do anything against them.)

པ

༣༩༩ མཐན་དང་ཁྲུག་རྡུ་ཐུག་ཅེས། ལས་གཉིས་འཛོམ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

399 The end of the strap met the buckle.

༤༠༠ ནད་དང་བུ་ལོན་ཆུང་དུས་སོས།

400 Cure the disease at the onset, and pay the debt when it is small.

༤༠༡ བོལ་སློང་གཅིག་ལ། བཟན་སློང་གཉིས། ཁོ་ལག་པས་བཟན་གཡོ་བ་ཁེ་ཟེར།

401 One ball of dough makes two cakes.

༤༠༢ པ་ལེ་མ་ལ་བམ་བཙོ་ན། གྲུ་བཞི་མ་ལ་བཟོ་འཐོན། དལ་བུར་ལས་བྱེད་ན་མགོ་ཆོད་ཟེར།

402 If you arrange the pieces slowly, they will form a square.

༤༠༣ པོ་ལོ་གོང་ཀ་མེད་ན་རུབ་ཤོ་ལ་མེད་ཡིན།

403 Apart from the Polokongka there is no pass in Rupsho.

༤༠༤ དཔེ་ར་ཚང་མ་དཔེར་མིན་ཡིན། རུབ་ཤོ་འགང་འཇོར་རི་དཔེ་ར་དཔེ་ར་ཡིན། གཞན་གྱི་
གཏམ་ལ་འབྱུ་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

404 All other conversation is worthless, but the speech of Gangjor of Rupshu is worth while.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༤༠༥ དཔེ་ར་ཙམ་ལུས་ནའང་མི་རུལ། གཏམ་མི་རུལ་བས། གུ་ལེར་ཐག་ཆོད་ནའང་མི་སྡུ་ཟེར་རོ།

405 No matter how much is left over for discussion, it will not rot. (A decision will be reached at long last.)

༤༠༦ དཔོན་པོ་དང་མཇལ་ན་ཅི་ཞུ་དང་གང་ཞུ། བླ་མ་དང་མཇལ་ན་ཅི་ཕུལ་དང་གང་ཕུལ། གཏམ་ཡིན་མིན་ཀུན་དཔོན་པོ་དང་བླ་མར་ཞུ་ན་ཟེར།

406 When meeting his master he tells all sorts of stories, and when meeting his priest he offers every gift he possesses.

༤༠༧ དཔོན་པོ་ལ་བཀྱོན་སྙིང་འགྲོ་ན་ཇ་ལ་འཚིག་རི་བྲོ། སྙད་བཏག་ནས་དོན་མེད་ལ་གཡོག་པོ་སོགས་ལ་ཁ་བཀྱི་ན་ཟེར།

407 If one's master intends to find fault, even the tea will have a burnt smell.

༤༠༨ དཔོན་པོའི་བསང་རབ་དང་། གངས་ཀྱི་ཐིགས་པ་འདྲ། མི་ཆེན་གྱིས་གནང་བའི་ཁ་ཟས་ཀྱི་གསོལ་རས་ཅུང་ཟད་ཡོད་ཀྱང་རིན་ཅན་ཡིན་ཟེར།

408 The master's gift of food is like drops from ice (i.e. appreciation of a small gift).

༤༠༩ དཔོན་གཡོག་ཞོབ་མ་བཏང་། གཉེན་ཉུང་འཚོང་མ་བཏང་། གཏང་ན་མི་འགྲིག་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

409 Master and servant should not joke together; and don't transact business with your relations.

༤༡༠ དཔྱིད་ཉིན་རིང་མོ་ལ་གྲང་གསུམ་དྲོ་གསུམ། མི་ཚེ་རིང་མོ་ལ་སྐྱིད་གསུམ་སྡུག་གསུམ། གྲང་དྲོ་ཕྲེལ་མ་ལྟར་སྐྱིད་སྡུག་ཀྱང་ཕྲེལ་མ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

410 There are three cold and three warm periods in a spring day; and in a man's long lifetime there are three joys and three sorrows (i.e. joy and misery come in their turn to a man).

༤༡༡ དཔྱིད་འབད་དུས་ལ་མ་འབད་ན། སྟོན་སྡུ་དུས་ལ་ཅི་སྡུ་ཡིན། དཔྱིད་ཀ་ལ་ལས་བྱེད་དགོས་ཟེར།

411 If you do not labour in spring, what will you reap in autumn?

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༤༡༢ སྤྱང་ཀུ་སོས་ཏེ་སྒོ་ཁྱི་མི་ལྡན། མི་བུ་སོས་ཏེ་རང་བུ་མི་ལྡན། བུ་རྡོད་དང་སོས་བུར་བསྒྲུས་ཏེ་ཟེར།

412 By nourishing a wolf, he will not become a dog; and by adopting a child, he cannot become as one of your own.

༤༡༣ སྤྱང་ཀུ་རྡོང་ལ་ལྷུངས་པ་ར་ལ་ཨ་ཇོ་མི་ཟེར་ཁ་མེད། མི་དབང་ཆེ་བའང་ཨ་ཀས་ཆ་ན་མི་ཆུང་ལ་བཙོལ་དགོས་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

413 When the wolf fell into the pit, he was obliged to say 'please, sir' to the goat.

༤༡༤ སྤྱང་ཀུ་མི་ལྟོགས་པ་ཞིག། ལུ་གུ་མི་ཤི་ཙམ་ཞིག། ཁྲིམས་ནང་ཕན་ཚུན་གཉིས་པོར་སྙོམས་པོ་ཙམ་ཟེར་རོ།

414 Not to starve the wolf and to keep the lamb alive. (When laws are applied fairly to both sides.)

༤༡༥ སྤྱང་ཤུལ་ལ་ཁྱི། རྐུན་མའི་འོག་ཏུ་དེར་གཞན་ཞིག་བསྙིབ་ནས་འཁད་ན་ཟེར།

415 A dog after a wolf. (A wolf carried off a sheep. Soon after a dog came, and the people thinking the dog a thief, caught and killed him.)

༤༡༦ སྤྱང་ཞིངས་སེ་ནང་ལ་བེར་ཞིངས། ལས་བྱེད་པའི་དཀྱིལ་དུ་གཞན་ཞིག་གིས་ཟེང་ཊིལ་འཁྱོང་ན་ཟེར།

416 Whilst hunting a wolf, he fought with a stick.

༤༡༧ སྦྲི་ཏེ་ཐེས་མ་ཡིན། ནམ་མཇུག་ཁུ་ནུའི་བཙོལ་མ་ཡིན། དོན་ནི་དེ་ཀ་ཡིན། (ཐེས་མ་ means ཐྱིད་མ).

417 Spite is but the part property of two masters. It is the legacy of the termination of the Kuna war.

༤༡༨ སྤྲེའུ་ལ་ཤོད་པ་སྣ་དགུ། ཏ་མག་དང་སྣ་ཐག་དང་སོ་ཐག་ལྷ་བུའི་ལོབས་ངན་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

418 A monkey has nine bad habits. (Used of people who smoke tobacco and take snuff and indulge in other vices.)

༤༡༩ དཔྱིད་ཉིན་རིང་དུ་རིང་དུ། ཨ་མའི་ཏོ་གོར་ཆུང་དུ་ཆུང་དུ།

419 Spring days grow longer and longer; and mother's bread becomes smaller and smaller (i.e. in spring foodstuffs become scarce).

ཕ

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༤༢༠ ཕ་ལྷམ་མཁན་གྱི་བུ་རྐང་རྗེན་ལ། བཟོ་པ་དང་ལག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་བཟོ་རང་ལ་མ་ཕན་ན་ཟེར།

420 The shoemaker's son walks barefoot (i.e. the shoemaker's wife is the worst shod).

༤༢༡ ཕ་མགོ་དཀར་ལ་བུ་རྐང་དམར། རྒས་ཁར་བུ་འཁྱོར་ན་ཟེར།

421 The hoary headed father has a child with red legs. (A proverb denoting derision, when an old man marries.)

༤༢༢ ཕ་གོས་བུ་ལ་འགད་ན། བུ་ལ་ཁ་བརྡ་མ་བཏང་། ཆེ་མི་སོང་བའི་བུ་ལ་རང་ཤེས་ཡོང་
དགོས་ཏེ་བསླབ་བྱས་མི་ཕན་ཟེར།

422 When a father's coat fits his son, don't give him advice.

༤༢༣ ཕ་མ་ལ་ཅི་དཀགས། བུ་ལ་མནའ་མ་དཀགས། བུ་ལ་མནའ་མ་ལེགས་པ་ཐོབ་པ་དཀའ་བ་
ཡིན་ཟེར།

423 What is the difficulty with parents ? It is difficult for them to get a wife for their son.

༤༢༤ ཕ་མའི་ལ་ཡོགས་རི་རབ། གྲོགས་ཀྱི་ལ་ཡོགས་མཛུག་གུ། ཕ་མའི་ལ་ཡོགས་སང་ཁྱོ་
ཤུག་གི་ལ་ཡོགས་ཞེན་ཏུ་སྐོར་པོ་འབྱུང་ཟེར། (རི་རབ་དང་མཛུབ་མོ་ལ་སྐོར་བ་སྐོར་
བའི་ཁྱད་ཆེ་བ་དང་འདྲའོ།)

424 The retribution of parents is as the circumambulation of Mount Miru and of a married couple as a journey round a finger.

༤༢༥ ཕ་སྨྱུག་བུ་ལ་མི་རྒྱུག། གཅིག་གི་སྨྱུ་གུ་གཞན་གྱིས་འབྲི་མི་ནུས་ཟེར།

425 The son could not write with his father's pen (i.e. you can't write with another person's pen).

༤༢༦ ཕ་ཙན་དན་ལ་བུ་ཚུ་ཤིང་། ཕ་ཡ་རབས་ལ་བུ་མ་རབས་འཐོན་ན་ཟེར།

426 The father of sandalwood got a child of reed (i.e. if a highborn father has a lowbred son).

༤༢༧ ཕཾ་ཚ་སྟོང་པའི་རང་ལང་སུས་ཀྱང་མི་ཐུབ། གྲོད་པ་ལྟོགས་རེར་སུས་ཀྱང་ལས་བྱེད་མི་ནུས་
ཟེར།

427 No one can make an empty sack stand upright (i.e. a man cannot work on an empty stomach).

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༤༢༨ ཕ་ཤི་སང་ལུད་སྐྱས་ཟུ། ཕ་ཤི་དུས་སུ་ཡང་ཞིང་ལས་བྱེད་དགོས། དུས་ཡོལ་ན་མི་ནུས་ཟེར།

428 The carrying of manure is more important than father's death.

༤༢༩ ཕ་ཤི་མ་ཤི་སེམས་ཀྱིས་བཟོད། གྲོད་པ་ལྟོགས་པ་སེམས་ཀྱིས་མ་བཟོད། ལྟོགས་པ་སྡུག་བསྔལ་ཀུན་པས་ཆེ་ཟེར།

429 One can endure the death of one's parents, but one cannot endure hunger.

༤༣༠ ཕ་ཤི་མཆེར་པ་ཟ། མ་ཤི་ནུ་མ་ཟ། ད་བར་དུ་བོད་པས་ཕ་དང་མ་གསོན་པོར་ཡོད་ན་མཆེར་པ་དང་ནུ་མ་མི་ཟ།

430 When father dies, you may eat spleen, and when mother dies, you may eat udder.

༤༣༡ ཕ་སྤུན་གྱི་རྩིབ་མ་ལོག་པར་ལ། རང་གི་གཉེན་གྱིས་དགྲ་བྱེད་ཅིང། གཉེན་མེད་པའི་ཕྱོགས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

431 The ribs of father's lineage are reversed. (When there is enmity against a relative.)

༤༣༢ ཕག་ཉན་མཁན། ལྟག་ཉན་ཡིན། ཕག་ཉན་གཏོང་བའི་མཐིང་ལྟག་ལ་རྫུང་ཟེར་རོ།

432 He is not one who listens in secret, but one who overhears.

༤༣༣ ཕག་ཤ་སོ་མས་ནད་རོ་རྙིང་པ་སློང། འཛིང་མོ་སོ་མས་གཞན་འཛིང་བའི་གཏམ་ངན་རྙིང་པ་ཡང་འདོན་ནོ་ཟེར།

433 Fresh pork causes the old malady to reappear. (A new quarrel revives an old one.)

༤༣༤ ཕར་ལ་ཕུ་ཟེར་ན་ཚུར་ལ་ཐུ། གཅིག་གིས་ཁྲམ་ཤེང་གཤེར་པ་མེར་ཕྱུས་པས། དེས་ཚ་རི་རི་ཚུ་སུ་སུ་བྱས་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ཏེ། ཕར་བསླབ་བྱ་བཏང་བའི་ལན་དུ་ཚིག་ངན་ཟེར་ན་ཟེར།

434 If you blow on anything it will spit back upon you. (One who refuses admonition.)

༤༣༥ ཕལ་ཆེར་ཡི་གེ་གོ་བས་དཔྱོད། ཡི་གེའི་དོན་ལ་ལྟས་ཏེ་འདུ་གཅོད་དགོས་ཟེར།

435 As a rule a letter can be read by understanding the sense (i.e. as regards bad calligraphy).

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༤༣༦ ཕྱི་ཐོག་སྤྲིན་དམར་འཁོར་ན། ཕྱུག་པོའི་ལས་ཐབས་འགྲིག ། ཕྱི་དྲོ་སྤྲིན་དམར་འཁོར་ན་ གནམ་ཐང་གི་རྟགས་ཡིན་པས། ཕྱུག་པོས་སང་ཉིན་ཕྱིར་ལས་གྲུབ་བྱེད་ཐུབ་ཟེར།

436 If the sky is red in the evening, the rich can make their plans.

༤༣༧ ཕྱི་བྱི་ཙི་ཡོངས་ཏེ། ནང་བྱི་ཙི་ཕྱིངས། རྟིང་ནས་བསྐྱིབ་པའི་མནའ་མའམ་མག་པ་ལྷ་བུས་ ཕ་མ་དང་གཞི་སྐྱིད་སོགས་ཕྱིར་འདོན་ན་ཟེར།

437 The mouse which was outside came in and drove out the one which was inside. (When a son-in-law is brought into the house, and the old father has to retire to a separate apartment in the house.)

༤༣༨ ཕྱི་ཐོག་ཨ་པ་བྱང་ཐང་ལ། སྔ་མོ་ཨ་པ་མལ་སའི་ནང་ལ། ཕྱི་དྲོ་སང་ངས་འདི་ཟུག་དེ་ ཟུག་བྱའོ་ཟེར་ནས། སྔ་དྲོ་མལ་སའི་ནང་གཉིད་ལོག་པ་ལྷ་བུ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

438 In the evening father was at Changtang, and in the morning he was in bed.

༤༣༩ ཕྱི་གཟིག་ནང་རུལ། ནོར་དང་ཡོན་ཏན་མེད་པའི་མི་གཟིག་པོ་འདབ་ཅན་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

439 He is smart cutwardly, and rotten inwardly.

༤༤༠ ཕྱི་ལ་ཕོས་པའི་ཐལ་བ། མི་སྒོར་འགྲིམ་པའི་བུ་དང་བུ་མོ་ལས་ལ་མི་ཕན་ཟེར་རོ།

440 Dust which is already thrown away. (Of a son or daughter already given away in marriage.)

༤༤༡ ཕྱིད་ཕྱིད་ཟེར་ཡིན་ཕྱི་སྐྱ་ལ། ཚུད་ཚུད་ཟེར་ཡིན་ནང་ལ། ཆུང་མ་ལྷ་བུ་རེས་ཕྱིར་འདོན་ཞིང་ རེས་ནང་དུ་འཁྱེར་ན་ཟེར་རོ།

441 He made her leave him by saying 'Go away', and call her back by saying 'Come in'. (When a man has divorced his wife and then brings her back again.)

༤༤༢ ཕྱིའི་ཆར་པའི་སྣང་ནང་ངེ་ཙང་ཏེ་སུ། ཕྱིའི་འབྲུག་པ་བས་ནང་གི་འབྲུག་པ་སྡུ་ཟེར་རོ།

442 The leaking of a roof is worse than the rain outside.

༤༤༣ ཕུ་ལ་གངས་རི་ཡོད་ན། མདོ་ལ་ཐིགས་པ། མི་རྒྱལ་བ་ཞིག་ལ་ནོར་ཡོད་ན་དབུལ་བ་ཅན་ ལ་ཕན་ཟེར་རོ།

443 If there is a glacier in the upper part of the valley, drops from it will come to the lower part of it. (Part of the rich man's wealth comes to the poor.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༤༤༤ ཕུག་མའི་ནང་གི་རྒྱ་ཁབ། བུ་ཕྲུག་མེད་པ་ལ་བུ་གཅིག་འབྱོར་ན་ཟེར།

444 A needle from China in the straw. (Of childless parents who finally get a son.)

༤༤༥ ཕེ་བཀལ་ཏེ་གཏང་ན། ཆུ་མི་ཐོབ། མི་མགོ་མི་ཆོད་པ་ཞིག་ལ་ཟེར།

445 If you send him off with some flour, he cannot obtain water. (Used of a stupid person who cannot manage for himself.)

༤༤༦ ཕེ་ཕྱོགས་མན་པ་ཆུ་ཕྱོགས་སུས་ཀྱང་མི་བཅོ། ཕྱུག་པོའི་ཕྱོགས་མིན་པ་དབུལ་པོའི་ཕྱོགས་སུས་ཀྱང་མི་བྱེད་ཟེར།

446 Everybody will take sides with flour, but none with water. (Taking sides with the rich and treating the poor with contempt.)

༤༤༧ ཕེ་ལྦུར་པོ་ལོག་པར་ལ། རང་གི་མིར་ཕན་མ་ཐོགས་པར་གཞན་ལ་ཕན་ཐོགས་པའི་གཉེན་ལ་ཟེར།

447 To cast away fine flour in the wrong direction. (Of relations who help others rather than their own home-folk.)

༤༤༨ ཕོ་དང་སྤྱང་ཀུ་འགྲང་ན་ངུ། མི་ཆང་གིས་བཟེས་ཏེ་ངུ་ན་ཟེར།

448 A man and a wolf weep when they are filled to repletion. (When a drunkard begins to weep.)

༤༤༩ ཕོ་སྐྱུར་རྟ་དང་། མོ་སྐྱུར་བ། མག་པ་གཅོད་ན་རྟ་དང་མནའ་མ་གཅོད་ན་བླ་རྫགས་པས་བ་གླང་ཞིག་སྦྱིན་དགོས་པས་ཟེར་རོ།

449 A pony to divorce a man, and a cow to divorce a woman. (This custom of paying a horse or cow is still in vogue when divorces occur in Ladakh.)

༤༥༠ ཕོ་རོག་ལ་ཁབ་འབྱོར་ན། མིག་ལ་བཙུག་ག་སྙིང་ལ་བཙུག། ཕྲུ་གུ་ལྟ་བུར་ཅི་ཞིག་ཐོབ་ནས་དེ་ལ་ལག་པ་རྩེ་ཡིན་བརྗོད་ན་ཟེར།

450 If a crow gets a needle, he will pierce it into his eyes or heart.

༤༥༡ ཕོ་བརྒྱའི་སྣངས་དང་། མོ་བརྒྱའི་མཛངས། ཕོ་ལས་དང་མོ་ལས་ཚང་མ་ཤེས་པའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར་རོ།

451 He who possesses a hundred talents of a man and a hundred attributes of a woman. (The accomplished person.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༤༥༢ ཕོ་ཞིག་འགྲུལ་ན་རྒྱལ། མོ་ཞིག་འདུག་ན་རྒྱལ། ཕོའི་ལས་ཁྱིམ་གྱི་ཕྱི་རོལ་དང་མོའི་ལས་ནང་ན་ཡོད་ཟེར།

452 Better for a man to go abroad, and a woman to stay at home.

༤༥༣ ཕོ་རང་པོ་གསུམ་འདུག་ན། ཚ་ཐྱིབ་གདང་ལ་བཀལ། བུད་མེད་པས་ཀྱང་ཕོ་རང་བྱ་དག་ཆེ་བ་འབྱུང་བའི་དཔེའོ།

453 A bachelor for three years, hangs up the clout.

༤༥༤ ཕྱག་འཚལ་གྱི་མགོ་ལ་སུས་ཀྱང་རྡོ་བ་མི་རྒྱབ། གུས་པ་དང་བབས་མོ་བྱེད་པ་ལ་སུས་ཀྱང་མི་རྡེག་ཟེར།

454 No one will stone a man on the head who bows down before him.

༤༥༥ ཕྱུག་པོའི་ངོ་གསོ་ལ། སྤྲ་རག་གི་སྙིང་རྩ་ཆད། མི་ནོར་ཡོད་པའི་ངོ་གསོ་བྱེད་དུ་དཔུལ་པོས་ཤ་ཆད་ཆད་ལས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

455 Through pleasing the rich man, the pauper burst a blood vessel.

༤༥༦ འཕུང་འགྲོ་ལ་འཕུང་། ནོར་ཕྱུགས་ལ་ཧྲུ་ཧྲུགས་མང་པོ་ལྷན་ཅིག་ཏུ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

456 Decay upon decay. (Misfortune following in quick succession.)

༤༥༧ འཕྱུགས་ན་འཕྱུགས་ན་མཁས་པ་འཕྱུགས། མཁས་པ་འཕྱུགས་ན་བཅོ་ཐབས་མེད། མཁས་པ་འཕྱུགས་ན། ཡང་བཅོ་ཉན་པ་མི་འདུག་ཟེར།

457 The wise man does not err, but if he does err there is no way of mending the matter.

༤༥༨ ཕྱོགས་ལ་མི་མེད་ན། ཞེ་ཏི་ལ་བཟན་མེད། ཕྱོགས་པ་མེད་ན་བཟན་ཐོབ་ཅེས་དཀགས་པོ་ཡིན་ཟེར

458 If you have no one to take your part, there will be no food in front of you.

༤༥༩ ཕྱུག་གསར་ནས་བུ་ལོན་མ་སྐྱི། ཕྱུག་པོ་སོ་མས་ཕོ་སོ་བྱེད་པས། དེ་ལྟ་བུ་ལས་ནོར་མ་སྐྱི་ཟེར་རོ།

459 Don't borrow from the ' Nouvean riche '.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༤༦༠ ཕྲུ་གུའི་ཆུང་དུས། ཕ་མའི་རྒུད་དུས། བུ་ཕྲུག་ན་སོ་ཆུང་དུས་མི་ལག་དཀོན་པས། ཕ་མ་ལ་རྒུད་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

460 When the children are small, then parents become weak.

༤༦༡ ཕྲུ་གུ་སྐྱུ་ན། ཕྱིན་དང་སྐྱུས། ཕྲུ་གུ་སྐྱུ་བའི་ཐབས་སྣ་མོ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

461 If you want to soothe a child, soothe him with the wind. (Any distraction will suffice to keep a child from crying.)

༤༦༢ ཕྲུ་གུ་ལ་ཡེ་ནེ་དང་། བཙུན་ཆུང་ལ་ཛཙ། ཕྲུ་གུ་ཆུང་བ་ལ་ཡེ་ནེ་མི་དགོས་པས། དེའི་ལག་ཏུ་ཡེ་ནེ་མ་གཏང་ཟེར།

462 Money to children and a shilling to a monk. (Children do not want money, but food and clothing.)

༤༦༣ ཕྲུ་གུ་དགུ་སྐྱེས་པའི་ཨ་ནེ་ལ་སྙིང་གཏམ་མ་ཤུག། ཉེན་ཅན་གྱི་སྙིང་གཏམ་ནི་བུ་དགུ་སྐྱེས་མཁན་གྱི་ཆུང་མ་ལའང་མ་བཤད་ཟེར།

463 Don't confide a secret to your wife who has borne nine children.

༤༦༤ ཕྲུ་གུའི་ཁྲིམས་བདག་ཕ་མ། ཕྲུ་གུའི་དབང་ཕ་མ་ལ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

464 Parents are the judges of their children. (Tibetans got this custom from the Chinese whose judges would condemn a disobedient child to death at the instigation of its parents.)

༤༦༥ ཕོ་རོག་གིས་རྐན་བརྡབ་པ་སང་། འུག་པའི་མིག་འཁྲུལ། གཞན་གྱི་བྱེད་ལུགས་ལ་འཛིགས་ན་ཟེར།

465 The smacking sound made by the raven against his palate made the owl blink his eyes. (These birds are known to be enemies of each other.)

༤༦༦ ཕྲུ་གུ་དང་ལྗང་པ་སྐྱེ་ཚུལ་ནས་ཤེས། ཕྲུ་གུ་ཆུང་ངུའི་དུས་ནས་ཇི་ལྟ་བུ་འབྱུང་ཡིན་ཤེས་ཟེར།

466 The nature of a child and that of a blade of corn can be ascertained by the way they grow.

༤༦༧ ཕྱེད་ལྷ་རྗེ་རང་། ཕྱེད་ལྷ་རྗེ་མི། རང་གི་ནད་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ཕྱེད་རང་གིས་ཤེས་ཟེར།

467 One is partly one's own doctor and partly a physician to another.

བ

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༤༦༨ བ་ངན་འབུག་ཡིན་བཞོ། འོ་མ་ཅུང་ཟད་གཏོང་བའི་བ་ལ་ཁ་བཀྱི་བཞིན་དེའི་འོ་མ་འཆོར་བ་ལྟར། གཅིག་ལ་འབུག་གིན་དེ་ལས་ཕན་ཐོགས་ན་ཟེར།

468 Whilst grumbling at her, he milked the cow.

༤༦༩ བ་མ་བཞོ། རྩྭ་བཞོ། འོ་མ་མང་པོ་ཐོབ་པ་ལ་རྩྭ་མང་པོ་ཐོང་ཟེར།

469 Don't milk the cow, but milk the grass.

༤༧༠ བ་བཞོས་ཏེ་པ་རི་གང་ནའང་གང་། ར་བཞོས་ཏེ་པ་རི་གང་ནའང་གང་། པ་རི་གང་དགོས། རང་དོན་གང་ལས་འགྲུབ་ནའང་འགྲིག་ཟེར།

470 The pot must be filled, whether by milking the cow or the goat.

༤༧༡ བ་ལུ་མེད་པ་མེད་ཐབས་མེད། བསད་ད་མི་རྒྱལ་བཀོལ་བ་རྒྱལ། ལས་ནང་ཁྲམ་པ་ཡོད་པའི་ལས་པ་མ་བསད་པར་ཁོལ་ཟེར།

471 A dwarf is indispensable, so better not kill him but let him work for you. (A hard worker should not be dismissed.)

༤༧༢ བ་གསོ་བ་ལ་ཕུག་རགས་དགོས། ཆུང་མ་སྲིལ་བར་ནོར་ཟན་དགོས་ཟེར།

472 To feed a cow you need a store of grass. (A man must have money to keep a wife.)

༤༧༣ བ་རྒན་གྱི་བྱ་བ་ཐལ། དུས་ཀྱི་ལོ་མ་བུད། ད་རྒས་ནས་ལས་བྱེད་པའི་དུས་ཟིན་ཟེར་རོ།

473 The old man is beyond work, the leaf of time has fallen.

༤༧༤ བག་མའི་ཕྱག་ཁྱི་བི་ལ་ལ། བག་མ་སོ་མས་མི་ཚེ་ཆུང་རྩང་མ་མ་ཟད་ཁྱི་དང་བྱི་ལ་ལ་ཡང་ཕྱག་བྱེད་དགོས་སོ་ཟེར།

474 The bride must pay her respects even to dogs and cats. (A bride in Ladakh is obliged to pay her respects to every one.)

༤༧༥ བག་ལམ་ཁ་བས་གཅོད་ན་ངན། རོ་ལམ་ཁ་བས་གཅོད་ན་བཟང་། བག་མ་དང་རོ་འཁྱེར་བའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཁ་འབབ་ན། བོད་པས་ལྟས་སུ་འཛིན་ནོ།

475 Unlucky for the snow to cut off the progress of a bridal party; lucky when the snow cuts off the road to a funeral pyre.

༤༧༦ བག་མ་བདེ་མོ་ལ་སྣ་གཡོན་ཏེ།

476 The beautiful bride has a curved nose (i.e. a beautiful face or thing with one defect).

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༤༧༧ བི་ལ་ཙོགས་ལ་མིག་བཙུམ་སྟེ་ཟ་ཅེས། མིག་གིས་མ་ལྟ་བར་རང་གི་ཁ་ཟས་ཟ་ན་ཟེར།

477 To eat whilst closing one's eyes like a cat.

༤༧༨ བི་ལ་ཤོར་ཏེ་དཀར་ཁུང་བཀག་ཅེས། གནོད་པ་ཞིག་སོང་ཟིན་ཏེ་ག་དར་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

478 To shut the window after the cat has escaped.

༤༧༩ བི་ལའི་ལག་པ་ལ་ཚིལ་བཅོལ་མཁན། མི་ངན་ནོར་འདོད་ཅན་གྱི་ལག་ཏུ་ནོར་བཅོལ་ན་ཟེར།

479 He who gives suet in trust to a cat.

༤༨༠ བལ་གྱི་རྩས་པ་མི་ལ་མི་ཟུག། བལ་ཇི་ལྟར་རྩིང་ཡང་མིའི་གཟུགས་པོར་མི་ཟུག་པས་ཁོལ་
ཟེར།

480 The coarse wool will not prick anyone.

༤༨༡ བུ་ངན་གསད་ད། ལག་ངན་གཏུབ། རང་ཕྱུག་རྩི་ག་པོ་འཐོན་ན་ཟེར།

481 May I kill my son, or may I cut off my own bad hand?

༤༨༢ བུ་འཚར་ན་པང་ལ་མི་ཤོང་། བུ་ཞིག་ཆེ་མིར་གྱུར་ནས་ཕ་མས་འཛིན་མི་ཐུབ་ཟེར།

482 There is no room for the grown-up son on his father's lap.

༤༨༣ བུ་ལོན་མེད་ན་ལག་མི་ལ་འདུག། ཚེར་ཀ་མེད་ན་རྟ་རྒན་ཉོས། ལག་མི་དང་འཚོང་
མེན་མ་གཏང་ཟེར།

483 If you are not in debt, then become a surety. If free from trouble, buy an old horse.

༤༨༤ བུ་ལོན་གྱི་མཆེ་བ་ཤེབས་ན་འབུད་ཅེས་དཀགས་པོ།

484 If in the grip of debt, it is hard to get free from it.

༤༨༥ བུ་ཚ་ལ་ཤི་ས་མེད། བུ་མོ་ལ་མ་ཁང་མེད། སྐྱེས་པ་བྱེས་དང་བུད་མེད་བག་མར་འགྲོ་
དགོས་ཟེར།

485 A son has no place where he may die: and a daughter no home. (A man has to travel to earn his living, so cannot be certain where he will die; and a daughter, when she gets married, cannot remain in her mother's home.)

༤༨༦ བུན་གཡོག་ལ་མི་མི་ཤི། རྡོ་གཡོག་ལ་འབུ་མི་ཤི། བུ་ལོན་ཕྱི་ཡང་རིམ་གྱིས་འཁོར་ཡོང་
ཟེར།

486 A man does not die under a load of debt, nor a worm under the weight of a stone.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༤༨༧ བུན་པ་ཡུལ་ན། ལག་མི་རི་ན། བུན་པ་བས་ལག་མིར་སྡོད་པ་ལ་འདེད་པའི་ཕྱིར་བར་རྡོ་ཆེ་བ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

487 The debtor in the city, and his surety in the mountains.

༤༨༨ བུལ་དང་ལག་པ་འཁྲུ་ཅེས། ནོར་ལྷ་བུ་སྟོར་ན་ཟེར།

488 To wash one's hands with soda. (When a man loses his wealth or position at his own free will.)

༤༨༩ བེར་ཀར་བེར་ལན་མ་གཏང་ན། བེར་ཀ་མང་དུ་འཕོག། ཟས་ལ་ཟས་ལན་མ་གཏང་ན། ཟས་ཁ་ཆུང་དུ་ཆ། གཞན་ལ་ཟ་ཅེས་མ་བཏང་སྟེ་ཕྱུག་པོར་མི་འགྱུར་ཟེར།

489 If you don't repay sticks with sticks, the stick will hurt you the more; and if you don't return food for food, you will have so much less to eat.

༤༩༠ བུ་མོའི་གྲོད་པ་དང་མཛོ་མོའི་གྲོད་པ། བུད་མེད་ཀྱིས་ཟ་མང་པོ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

490 A woman's belly is like that of a cow. (Thought that a woman has a larger appetite.)

༤༩༡ བུ་མོའི་ཀྱ་ལབ་དང་། རྟ་ཕའི་ཉིན་ལམ། བུད་མེད་གཉིས་དཔེ་ར་གཏང་འཚར་འཚར་ལ། རྟས་ཉིན་ལམ་གཅིག་གཅོད་ཟེར།

491 The conversation of a woman is as long as a day's march on horseback.

༤༩༢ བོང་བུ་སྒལ་མེད་ཅིག་རང་འཐག་གི་སྒོ་ལ། ལས་ལ་དགོས་དུས་སུ་མི་ཞིག་སླེབ་ཆ་ན་ཟེར།

492 A donkey without a load at the door of a flour mill.

༤༩༣ བོང་བུ་ག་རུ་བཏགས་ཏེ་ཡོངས་ཡིན། ཁ་ཟས་ཀྱི་ཁར་འགོར་ཏེ་ཕྱིའི་མི་ཞིག་སླེབ་ན་ཟེར།

493 Having tied up your donkey where have you come from? (When a stranger comes after the meal is over.)

༤༩༤ བོང་བུ་དང་རྐྱག་པ་ཁ་ཐུག་ཆ་ཅེས། མི་ངན་པ་ཞིག་དང་ཕྲད་དེ་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

494 To meet a donkey with dung.

༤༩༥ བོང་ཞོན་ལག་ཆག། རྟ་ཞོན་མགོ་ཆག། བོང་བུར་ཞོན་པ་ལག་པ་དང་རྟར་ཞོན་པ་འགྲིལ་ན་དེ་འདྲ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

495 He breaks his arm who rides upon an ass, and his head who rides upon a horse. (Of a man when he falls from a donkey or a horse.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༤༩༦ བོང་བུ་ལ་དམ་ཆོས། ཧ་མི་གོ་བའི་མི་ལ་བསླབ་བྱ་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

496 Scriptural advice to an ass.

༤༩༧ བོང་བུ་ལ་ཞོན་ཏེ་བོང་བུ་བཙལ་ཅེས། དངོས་པོ་ཞིག་རང་གི་ལག་གམ་མདུན་དུ་ཡོད་པ་མ་མཐོང་བར་བཙལ་ན་ཟེར།

497 He looked for the donkey on which he was mounted.

༤༩༨ བོད་ཀྱི་ཤིང་བཤག་ས་ལ་མ་འདུག། ཤིང་ཕར་ཏེ་འཕོག་སྲིད་ཟེར།

498 Do not stay where Tibetans are chopping wood. (The splinters might hit you.)

༤༩༩ དབང་པོ་ཆེའི་ཐབ་པོ་གྱེན་ལ། དབང་ཅན་གྱི་དབང་ཆོས་ལ་ཟེར།

499 A strong man can roll a stone uphill.

༥༠༠ དབུས་གཙང་ལ་པང་སྒ། ཚྭ་ཁ་ལ་ཚྭ་འཚོང་དུ་འཁྱེར་བ་ལྟ་བུའི་འཚོང་བྱེད་པ་ལ། ཡང་ན་རིན་མེད་ཀྱི་ནོར་འཚོང་དུ་རྒྱང་རིང་དུ་འགྲོ་ན་ཟེར།

500 To take a wooden saddle to Tibet. (Like taking coal to Newcastle.)

༥༠༡ འབུ་ཆོག་ལ་ཤིང་བཙུག་ཅེས། མི་དབུལ་པོ་ལ་འཆོག་པ་སྡིག་པའམ་གནོད་སྐྱེལ་ན་ཟེར།

501 To pierce a worm with a stick. (Injuring a harmless person.)

༥༠༢ འབུ་ལམ་ནོར་ཞིག་གྲོ་མོག་གི་ཚང་ས་ལ། ཉེན་ཆེ་བའི་ནང་ལ་སླེབ་ན་ཟེར།

502 The worm, which lost its way, arrived at the ant's nest. (To be visited by calamity suddenly.)

༥༠༣ བོད་ཀྱི་ལག་པ་ལ་ཚོན་ཤི། བོད་ཀྱི་ལག་ཏུ་དངོས་པོ་ཚང་མ་ནོགས་སོ་ཟེར།

503 The colour was destroyed in the hands of Tibetans.

༥༠༤ འབུ་འགུལ་བ་ཉི་མའི་བཀའ་དྲིན། ང་ལ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་དྲིན་མེད་དེ་གཞན་གྱི་དྲིན་ནོ་ཟེར།

504 The worm wriggles because of the goodness of the sun.

༥༠༥ འཐེ་ད་གཅིག་གླུ། མི་གཅིག་འབའ་ཞིག་གིས་གླུ་ལེན་ན་ཟེར།

505 One musician singing a solo. (When there is only one musician instead of many.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༥༠༦ བྱ་རྒས་པ་ཚང་དྲན། མི་རྒས་པ་རང་ཡུལ་དྲན།

506 An aged bird remembers his nest; and an old man his home.

༥༠༧ བྱ་གཉིད་དུམ་དུམ། སྤོ་གཉིད་འཁམ་པ། གཉིད་ཡང་སྐྱི་ཡོག་ཏུ་ཟེར།

507 To sleep for a short time like a bird; and to sleep soundly for one's pleasure.

༥༠༨ བྱ་ཕོ་ཡོང་མེད་ཡིན་ན། རྡོ་བ་ཕོ་ཡོང་ཆུས་ཁྱེར་པ། མི་ཅོལ་ཆུང་གི་ཧས་གཏམ་ལ་ཟེར།

508 If the rock-bird had not been there, the water would have carried away the rock.

༥༠༩ བྱ་གནམ་ལ་འཕུར་ནའང་གྲིབ་མ་ས་ལ། རྒྱང་རིང་དུ་ལས་བྱེད་ཀྱང་དེའི་སྐད་ཆ་བཟང་ངན་ཐོས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

509 Though a bird flies in the sky, his shadow falls on the ground (e.g. news from afar).

༥༡༠ བྱ་ཕོས་འབོད་དེ་མ་ནེ། བྱ་མོས་འབོད་དེ་ནམ་མི་ལངས། སྐྱེས་པའི་ལས་ཀྱིས་མ་གཏོགས་བུད་མེད་ཀྱིས་ཚེ་མི་ཕྱིད་ཟེར།

510 Until the cock crows, the hen does not stir herself at dawn.

༥༡༡ བྱ་དགོངས་ཞིག་འདུག་ནའང་ཚང་ཞིག་དགོས། དགོངས་གཅིག་གི་ཕྱིར་ཡང་མི་ལ་བྲང་ས་དགོས་ཟེར།

511 A bird needs a nest if it is only for a night.

༥༡༢ བྱ་སྤུ་གནམ་ལ། བྱ་ཁྲག་ས་ལ། ཁྲི་གཏོར་ལ་ཆ་ན་ཟེར།

512 The bird's feathers are in the sky and its blood upon the ground. (When families or persons are scattered.)

༥༡༣ བྱ་ཡང་མ་འཁྲུགས་ས། སྒོ་ཡོ་ཡང་མ་འཁྲུགས་ས། ཕན་ཚུན་གཉིས་པོ་མ་འཁྲུགས་པར་འགྲིག་བཅུག་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

513 Without disturbing the bird or the egg. (Making up quarrels between two parties peaceably.)

༥༡༤ བྱི་བ་འདུག་གི་གནས་མི་འདུག། སྐྱ་ཐུད་དེ་གར་ཁྱེར། འདུག་པའི་གནས་མེད་དེ་གནས་སྤོ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

514 The mouse has nowhere to live. So where will he go when he has dragged off the ladle?

·རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༥༡༥ བྱ་འཕུར་བའི་ཁར་རྔ་མན། ཁྲོས་པའི་མིར་ལྷག་པར་སྒྲོ་དཀྲུག་ན་ཟེར།

515 To beat the drums when the bird is on the wing. (To provoke a man who has lost his temper.)

༥༡༦ བྱེ་མ་བཙིར་ཏེ་མར་མི་འཐོན། དབུལ་པོ་ལ་ཐུམ་བཞག་གཏང་ན་ཡང་ཕག་ཕྱུག་མི་ཐོབ་ཟེར།

516 You cannot produce butter by pressing sand. (Same as ‘you can’t get blood out of a stone’.)

༥༡༧ བྱམས་ན་གནམ་གྱི་བྱ་ཡང་འཁོར། རྩིང་ན་པང་གི་བུ་ཡང་ཐོར། ཡ་ཤ་དང་རྩུབ་པོ་བྱེད་པའི་ཁྲུད་ལ་ཟེར།

517 Birds will gather round him who loves them, and a son will escape from the bosom of him who is severe towards him.

༥༡༨ བྲ་ཟན་ལ་ཀྱ་རི། བྲ་བོའི་ཟན་གྱི་ཁར་ཀྱ་རི་མི་མཛེས་པ་ལྟར། མི་ཟློབས་པའི་ཁ་ཟས་ལ་ཟེར།

518 To dress buckwheat cake with a piece of meat (i.e. preparing an unsuitable meal).

༥༡༩ བྲག་བར་ལ་ས། མི་བར་ལ་གཏམ། བྲག་སྤུབས་ནང་ས་ཞུགས་ན་བྲག་འགྱེ་བ་ལྟར། མི་བར་ལ་གཏམ་གྱིས་དཀྲུག་ན་སྣོ་འགྱེ་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

519 Earth between rock, and a go-between amongst men. (Earth in the crevice of a rock tends to split it. A go-between tends to make agreement impossible.)

༥༢༠ བྲག་སྣ་ཆུས་མི་སྐྱུར། ཡུལ་ཁྲིམས་མིས་མི་སྐྱུར། ཡུལ་སྲོལ་འཇིག་པར་མི་བྱེད་ཟེར་རོ།

520 Water cannot move the spur of a rock, and men will not change the customs of their country.

༥༢༡ བྲག་དང་ཙ་རག། དབང་ཅན་དང་ཁ་དམན་འཐབ་ན་ཟེར།

521 A rock and an earthen pot. (When a strong man and a weak one compete.)

༥༢༢ བྲེ་གང་ནང་ལ་མེད་པ། ཕྱི་ལ་ཁལ་ཅིག། ནང་ན་རྫོར་མེད་པར་ཕྱི་རུ་ཡོད་ཁྲུངས་སྟོན་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

522 In his house he had not a measureful of flour. Yet he pretended to offer a bushel to an outsider.

༥༢༣ འབྲོག་པ་བརྒྱ་ཤི་སྟོང་ལང་། བརྒྱུད་རྩ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

523 If a hundred Dards die, a thousand sons will rise up. (Of one who foreruns a long lineage.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༥༢༤ འབྲོག་པ་གྲལ་ལ་མ་བོར། སྟ་རེ་ཕུར་ལ་མ་བོར། འབྲོག་པ་ལ་སྟེ་སྟང་བྱེད་ན་ཚུར་ལ་གནོད་པ་སྐྱེལ་ཟེར།

524 Don't put a Dard in the row and don't hang up your axe. (Used derisively when speaking of Dards.)

༥༢༥ འབྲོག་པ་མི་མིན། ཨས་ཀུ་ཏ་ཤིང་མིན། འབྲོག་པ་ལ་སྨད་སྨྲ་ཡིན།

525 Dards are not men, the Askuta is not wood.

༥༢༦ བླ་མས་སྒོ་ང་བཅག་ཆོག་ན། སློབ་མས་བྱ་ཧྲི་གསད་ཆོག། སློབ་དཔོན་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་དམ་པོར་མི་སྲུང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

526 If a priest may break an egg, his disciple may kill the hens.

༥༢༧ བླ་མའི་ནོར་དང་གོང་ཀའི་ཐལ་བ། གོང་ཀའི་ཐལ་བ་རླུང་གིས་འཁྱིར་ལྟར་བླ་མའི་ནོར་ཐོབ་ན་ཡང་མགྱོགས་པ་ཟད་ཟེར།

527 The wealth of a priest is like the dust on the top of a hill. As the dust is swept by wind so the wealth of a lama disappears.

༥༢༨ སྦལ་ཏི་ལ་ཚྭ་ཐོབ་པ་ཙོགས། ཅི་ཞིག་ཐོབ་ནས་མང་དུ་འཐད་ན་ཟེར།

528 Like a Balti who has got some salt. (Salt is rare in Baltistan. A Balti will eat salt as if it were sugar.)

༥༢༩ སྦལ་ཏི་སྙིང་ཅན་ནེས་བློ་བཀོལ་བཀོལ་ལ། བོད་སྙིང་མེད་དེ་སྙིང་པོ་བརྐུས། སེམས་བཏད་དེ་བློ་རྐུ་ན་ཟེར།

529 The reserved Balti pretended to be honest, and the heart of the frank Tibetan was stolen.

༥༣༠ སྦུར་པའི་མཐོང་བཟོ་ལ། རྩི་མིག་གཞལ་ཡས་ཁང་། རང་ནོར་དང་རང་ཁང་ལ་ཏ་ལས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

530 To a beetle the crack in the wall seems like a mansion.

༥༣༡ སྦུར་པའི་མགོ་ལ་ཕྱེ་བཏབ་རྒྱུ་མེད་མཁན། བོད་པས་དཔྱིད་ལ་སྦུར་པ་ཐོག་མར་འཐོན་དུས་སུ་དེའི་མགོ་ལ་ཕྱེ་གཏོར་བའི་སྲོལ་ཡོད་པས། ཟ་རྒྱུ་ཅིའང་མེད་པ་ལ་སྨད་དེ་ཟེར།

531 He has not enough flour even to put on the head of a beetle. (When Tibetans see a beetle for the first time in spring they put flour on the head of the beetle.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༥༣༢ སྦལ་ཏི་ཇོ་ལོག། རིས་ཚུར་གྱི་ཕྱོགས་དང་རིས་ཕ་རོལ་པའི་ཕྱོགས་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

532 The Balti is rebellious.

༥༣༣ དབྱར་དགུན་གྱི་དཔང་པོ་འབྲུག། དབྱིད་ཀ་ཐོག་མར་འབྲུག་ལྡིར་ན་ཟེར།

533 Thunder is the witness of summer and winter. (With the first peal of thunder in spring, summer begins.)

༥༣༤ དབྱར་གྱི་གཡའ་ཕྱུགས་ལ་ཙག་ཙག། དགུན་གྱི་རྫ་མ་ལ་ཙག་ཙག། དུས་དུས་སུ་ཐ་དག་བྱེད་དགོས་ཟེར།

534 In summer be careful of your metal pots. And in winter of your earthen ones. (Rust will corrode metal in summer, and the freezing of water in earthen pots will crack them—i.e. take due care according to the season.)

༥༣༥ བླ་མས་དཀོར་མ་ཟ་བར་མི་འགྲིག། སྤྱང་ཀུས་ལུ་གུ་མ་ཟ་བར་མི་འགྲིག། སྤྱང་ཀུའི་ཟ་སྐལ་ལུག་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར། བླ་མའི་ཟ་སྐལ་ཡང་ཤི་དཀོར་དང་གསོན་དཀོར་ཡིན་ཟེར།

535 A lama cannot help taking his fee and a wolf cannot help eating a lamb. (A kor is given to lamas for performing ceremonies.)

༥༣༦ བླ་མ་འོན་པ། ཉེ་གནས་ལྐུགས་པ།

536 The priest is deaf, and his disciple is dumb. (When both teacher and pupil are stupid.)

༥༣༧ ཐེས་སེ་ལྷ་བཟང་པོ། ཐེམས་སུ་འགྲོ་ན་ཁམས་བཟང་ལུས་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

537 The god of travel is kind hearted.

༥༣༨ བོང་བུ་ལ་གནམ་རིབ་པའི་འཇིགས་པ། མཚན་མོར་བོང་བུ་མགྱོགས་པར་འགྲུལ་བ་ནི་གནམ་རིབ་པའི་འཇིགས་པ་ཡིན་སེམས།

538 At night the donkey fears lest the sky drops upon him. (A donkey walks more briskly at night and Ladakh people think this is because the donkey is afraid of the sky falling upon him.)

མ

༥༣༩ མ་སྨུག་ས་ལ་བབས་ན། གནམ་གྱི་ཀློང་ནས་ཐང་། ན་བུན་ས་ལ་འབབ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

539 When a fog settles on the ground, the dome of the sky will be clear.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༥༤༠ མ་བུ་གྲབས་མཐུན་ཆ་ན། འཚལ་མགོ་ཚོད་མས་ཚོད། མ་སྨད་ཁ་མཐུན་ན། ཚོད་མ་འཚལ་
མ་ལ་ཐོས་ཏེ་འགྲིག་ཟེར།

540 If mother and son agree, the vegetables will be sufficient for breakfast.

༥༤༡ མ་ཉན་ན་སྦྲང་བུ་མེ་ལྡིབ་མེ་ལ་ལྡིབ་ལྡིབ་ལྡིབ་སྟེ་ཡང་མི་ཉན། ཕ་མས་བྱམས་པའི་ཐབས་མང་
པོས་ཡུ་ཀུ་བཙན་ཏེ་མ་ཆུན་ན་ཟེར།

541 If he is disobedient, he will not become obedient through embracing him as a moth hovering over a fire.

༥༤༢ མ་སྙིང་བུ་དང་བུ་སྙིང་རྡོ། མས་བུ་ལ་བྱམས་ཀྱང་། བུས་མ་ལ་མི་ཆགས་ཟེར།

542 A mother's heart on her child; a child's heart on a stone. (Of a child who is incapable of expressing his feelings.)

༥༤༣ མ་མཐོང་བའི་ཡུལ་པོ་སྐྱིད་པོ་ཅན། གཞན་ཡུལ་སྐྱིད་རྡོ་སེམས་ཞེང་རེར་ཕྱིན་འདོད་པ་ལ་
ཟེར།

543 The country you have not seen is a pleasant one.

༥༤༤ མ་རབས་དང་འགྲོགས་ན་མནའ་རེ་དང་ཐོ་རེ། ཡ་རབས་དང་འགྲོགས་ན་དཔེ་རེ་དང་དོན་རེ།
མི་བཟང་ངན་དང་འགྲོགས་པའི་ཕན་གནོད་སྟོན་ན་ཟེར།

544 If he keeps company with low-bred people, he takes false oaths, and when he associates with cultured folks, he learns good manners.

༥༤༥ མ་གཉེན་པོ་གོ་ག་སྦུགས་ལ། ཕ་གཉེན་པོ་སྒོ་རྒྱབ་ལ། ནང་བདག་མོ་ཕལ་ཆེར་གྱིས་རང་གི་
གཉེན་ལ་ཟོ་ཟོ་འབུང་འབུང་མང་པོ་ཟེར་བ་དང་། ཁྱོའི་གཉེན་ལ་དེ་འདྲ་མི་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

545 Mother's relations are at the head of the hearth. Father's are behind the door.

༥༤༦ མག་པའི་མགོ་ལ་ཐག་པ། བག་མའི་མགོ་ལ་སོག་ཀྱིར། བག་ཕོའི་བལ་ཐོད་དང་བག་མའི་
བག་ཏེབ་ལ་བཞད་དགད་དུ་ཟེར།

546 A rope on the head of the bridegroom and a straw ring on the head of the bride. (A skit on the wooden turban of the bridegroom and the peculiar hat of the bride.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༥༤༧ མག་པ་མགྱོགས་ས་བག་མ་མགྱོགས། བག་སྟོན་དུས་སུ་དེ་གཉིས་ཞེར་མ་གཅིག་གི་ནང་དུ་འབྲས་སྦྱིན་པའི་ཚེ། མིག་རྩ་ཆེ་ཆུང་ལ་ལྟ་བར་གང་དེས་ལག་པ་སྔོན་དུ་རྒྱབ་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཟེར།

547 Who is quicker, the bridegroom or the bride? (When both have to eat rice from the same plate.)

༥༤༨ མན་ལ་སྨན་མེད། མན་རང་ཟེར་ཞིང་མགོ་རིལ་བ་དེ་ཉན་དུ་འཇུག་མི་ནུས་ཟེར།

548 No remedy for those who refuse. (An offer.)

༥༤༩ མར་གྱི་ཁྲོད་ལ་རལ། དངོས་པོ་ལེགས་པའི་ཁྲོད་ན་ཉུ་བ་རེ་ཡང་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

549 To find hairs in the butter. (When a bad article is found amongst good ones.)

༥༥༠ མང་ཟོས་མང་གནོད། ཉུང་ཟོས་ཉུང་གནོད། རང་ལས་ཕན་མང་དུ་ཐོགས་པས་གནོད་པ་ཡང་མང་པོ་སྐྱེལ་ལོ་ཟེར།

550 He suffered more who overate, and he who ate little suffered less. (When a friend repays good with evil.)

༥༥༡ མལ་ཐུལ་ལ་དཔེས་ཏེ་རྐང་པ་རྐྱོང་། ཡོང་སྒོ་བཞིན་དུ་འབུད་སྒོ་འགྲོར་ཆུག་ཟེར།

551 Stretch your feet according to the length of your blanket. (Same as: cut your coat according to your cloth; spend your money according to your income.)

༥༥༢ མང་ད་རི་ལ་རྩྭ་ལོ་མང་། གཅད་ན་ཟོར་ཆུང་གཅིག་གིས་བཅད། དགྲ་བོ་ལང་ལོང་མང་ཡང་དེ་དག་གཅིག་གིས་འཇོམ་ནུས་ཟེར།

552 True, there are many polygona on the mountain, but you can cut them down with a small sickle (i.e. many enemies can be subdued by one strong man).

༥༥༣ མར་དུག་འཐོག་ན་དཀར། དཀར་དུག་འཐོག་ན་མར། མར་གནོད་པ་ལ་ཞོ་དར་བ་དང་། ཞོ་དར་བ་ཐོག་པ་ལ་མར་ཕན་ཟེར།

553 If butter is poison to you, use curds, and if curds are a poison to you, then take butter.

༥༥༤ མར་ཞུལ་ལ་ཆུ་བླུག་མཁན། ལེགས་པའི་ཚབ་ལ་ཉུ་བ་སྐྱེར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

554 He poured water into the pot of butter.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༥༥༥ མི་གཅིག་གི་ཀྲང་ཀྲང་དང་། རྟ་གཅིག་གི་ཀྱིར་ཀྱིར། མི་ལག་དགོས་པའི་ལས་དེ་མི་གཅིག་
གིས་སྒྲུབ་ཏུ་བརྩོན་ན་ཟེར།

555 The talk of one man, and a pony at a stand-still. (When a man attempts to do the work of many people.)

༥༥༦ མི་གཅིག་གི་ངོ་ལ་མི་བརྒྱ་ལ་བཟན། མི་གཅིག་གི་ངོ་ལ་བལྟས་ཏེ་དེའི་འགྲོ་པ་ཀུན་ལ་ཁ་ཟས་
སྟེར་ན་ཟེར།

556 Out of regard for one man, he feeds a hundred.

༥༥༧ མི་ངན་ཚོགས་གསེབ་ལ་ཆ་ན། ཤིང་ངན་ཏ་ཀུ་དང་ཐུག། མི་སྡིང་ངན་ནགས་གསེབ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་
ཀྱང་ཤིང་དྲང་པོ་མ་ཕྱིངས་ཟེར།

557 If an evil man goes to the forest, he will find crooked sticks (like hockey sticks).

༥༥༨ མི་ངོ་རེ་དང་གསེར་ཕྲང་རེ། མི་རྒྱགས་ཅན་གྱི་ངོ་ལ་ལས་ལྷ་མོར་འགྲུབ་པའམ་འཚོང་ཁྲི་
མོར་ཐོབ་ན་ཟེར།

558 Out of regard for one man, he welcomed a religious musical band.

༥༥༩ མི་རྒས་པ་ཤིག་གིས་ཚོད་བཅད། རྒས་པར་ཤུས་ཀྱང་ཚོད་གཅད་དོ་ཟེར།

559 Even a louse oppresses a man when he is old.

༥༦༠ མི་ཆེན་ཕྱག་ལ་འཁང་། མི་ཆུང་ཟན་ལ་འཁང་། མི་ཆེན་དང་མི་ཆུང་གི་འཁངས་ཀ་སྟོན་པའོ།

560 The high-born long for salutations, and the insignificant man yearns for food.

༥༦༡ མི་རྒས་པ་གོང་དུ། ཐང་སྐུ་རྒས་པ་འོག་ཏུ།

561 A man rises to dignity as he grows old; and an old painting gets a lower place.

༥༦༢ མི་དོན་ལ་རང་སྲོག། གཞན་དོན་གྱི་ཕྱིར་འཛིང་འཐབ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

562 One's life for another (i.e. defending another man's cause and suffering for it).

༥༦༣ མི་དྲིན་ཞིག་གི་སང་རང་དྲིན་རྒྱལ། གཞན་མིའི་དྲིན་འཁུར་བ་བས་རང་གི་མིའི་དྲིན་འཁུར་བ་
རྒྱལ་ཟེར་རོ།

563 Better to seek the gratitude of your own folk than that of another.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༥༦༤ མི་ནོར་ལ་ཧམ་པ། རང་ནོར་ལ་སེར་སྣ། གཞན་ནོར་ཐོབ་པ་འཐད་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

564 To covet another man's goods, and to be miserly with one's own.

༥༦༥ མི་ཐབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ། བོང་བུ་ཕྱིན་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ། མི་ནི་བོང་བུ་མིན་ཏེ་ཐབས་ལ་མཁས་པ་ཟེར།

565 Man is the king of resourcefulness, and a donkey the king of the wind.

༥༦༦ མི་བདེའི་ཕོ་ཕོང། ནང་ཚང་གི་མི་ཞིག་ལ་མ་དགའ་ན། དེས་རང་ལ་ལྷུས་ཏེ་ཟེར།

566 The miserable boulder. (When a man is hated by every one.)

༥༦༧ མི་ངན་འབུག་ས་ལ། མི་ཞིག་གི་སྐོར་ལ་གཏམ་བྱེད་ཙ་ན་མི་དེ་རང་སླེབ་ཆ་ན་ཟེར།

567 The evil-doer arrives when others are slandering him (i.e. talk about the devil and he is sure to appear).

༥༦༨ མི་ངན་ལ་དབང་ཐོབ་ན། ཆུ་ལ་བྲེ་བཏབ། དཀགས་པོ་སྐོན་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

568 If an evil-doer obtains power, he bales out water with a measure. (A wood measure like a pail.)

༥༦༩ མི་མགོའི་སང་ཁྱི་མགོ་མཐོ་བ། མི་ཆེ་གྲུས་ལས་ཆུང་གྲུས་གྲལ་མགོ་ལ་འགྲོ་ན་ཟེར།

569 The head of the dog is higher than that of a man. (When a man of low birth takes precedence over one of higher rank or birth.)

༥༧༠ མི་ངན་ལ་ཁ་གང་ཟེར་བ་སང། ཞོ་གང་བཅལ་ན་རྒྱལ། མི་ངན་པ་དང་ནོར་གྱི་ཕྱིར་འཐབ་པ་བས། དེ་ལ་ཆོན་དུ་ནོར་སྦྱིན་ན་ལེགས ཟེར།

570 Better to pay one 'zho' than to utter one mouthful of talk. (1 'zho' is worth $4\frac{4}{5}$ of a rupee.)

༥༧༡ མི་གསུམ་གྲབས་འཆམས་ན། བྲམ་ཟེའི་ར་མ་ཁྱི་ལ་འཁྱམ། ར་མ་ཁྲིད་ནས་འགྲོ་བའི་བྲམ་ཟེ་ལ། རྐུན་མ་ལྔ་འགག་སོ་སོར་བསྡད་དེ་སྨྲས་པ། བྲམ་ཟེ་ཁྱི་འཁྲིད་པ། དེས་རྣམ་རྟོག་ཟློས་ནས་ར་མ་ཕུད་བཏང་བས་རྐུན་པོས་ཟོས་སྐད། དེ་ལྟར་དུ་ཁ་འཆམ་ན་ཅི་ཡང་བྱེད་ནུས་པའི་དཔེར།

571 If three men are agreed, the Brahmin's goat will become a dog. (Once a Brahmin was about to sacrifice a goat to his god, when five thieves gathered to hold a consultation. Each of them exclaimed, 'the Brahmin is going to sacrifice a dog to his god', whereupon the Brahmin handed the goat to the thieves who at once ate it; i.e. unity is strength.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༥༧༢ མི་གཏམ་དང་སོ་ནམ་འབད་ན། ཕ་རོ་གདང་ལ་བཀལ། མི་གཏམ་ལ་མ་ཉན་པར་རང་ཚོད་ཀྱིས་རང་ལས་ཐོས་ཟེར།

572 If you cultivate your fields according to the advice of other people, they will say 'Place your father's corpse on a rack " (i.e. don't take notice of other folks' talk but arrive at a decisive theory according to your own observation).

༥༧༣ མི་རྟ་ཁྱི་གསུམ་འཚོ་བ་ལ། ཕ་མཐོང་ཙོམས་ཅན་གྱི་བུ་མོ་དགོས། ཤིང་མཁན་བཙན་འདས་ཟེར་བའི་མནའ་མས་ཕྱེ་བཙག་པའི་བཙག་རོ་རྟ་ཆག་ཏུ་བཏང༌། ཕྱེ་ལ་བཟན་གཡོས་ཏེ་མི་ལ་བཏང༌། བཟན་ཤུལ་བཀྲུས་ཏེ་ཁྱི་ལ་བཏང༌། ཕྱེ་སྣ་གཅིག་ལས་མི་རྟ་ཁྱི་གསུམ་ལ་ལྟོ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལྟར། འདི་འདྲ་མཁས་པ་ཙོས་ཅིས་བུད་མེད་ལ་ཁ་བརྡར་ཟེར།

573 You need a resourceful father's daughter to look after the men, the horse, and the dog. (This hangs on the following story: 'The daughter-in-law of Tsandas sifted flour and cooked porridge, with the fine flour and the husks she prepared food for the horse. The porridge she gave to the men and with part of the flour she scoured the pot and gave it to the dog. Thus she fed three species of animals with one kind of flour.)

༥༧༤ མི་མང་གི་རོ་མང་འདུས་པ། མི་མང་ཡང་ལས་བྱེད་པ་ཉུང་ངུ་ཡོད་ན་ཟེར།

574 If there are many men, there would be many corpses. (The more workers there are, the more food will be needed.)

༥༧༥ མི་ནོར་ལ་གར་རྩེ་ཅེས། གཞན་གྱི་ནོར་སྒྲུག་ན་ཡང་ན་ཟ་ན་ཟེར།

575 To dance upon the wealth of others.

༥༧༦ མི་ཚེ་ཡུན་རིང་ན། བྱ་སྒྲོས་སྡོང་པོ་ཆོད། ཤིང་གི་ཁར་འཁད་པའི་བྱ་རོ་རླུང་གིས་བསྐྱོད་པས། དེའི་ཤོག་པས་གདར་ཏེ་རིམ་པར་ཤིང་སྡོང་ཆོད་པའི་ལོབ་ལོ་ལྟར། སུ་ཞིག་གིས་ཆད་མེད་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་བྱེད་ན་བྱ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་སྒྲུབ་ནུས་ཟེར།

576 If life is long, you can cut the trunk of the tree with a feather. (According to a Tibetan tale, the corpse of a dead bird got caught on the branches of a tree. When the wind blew, it caused the feathers of the bird to cut through the trunk of the tree. Thus, if one tries hard enough and long enough, one can achieve almost anything.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༥༧༧ མི་ཞིག་ཀྲུད་ན་རྩ་ལང། རྟ་ཞིག་ཀྱགས་ན་རྩ་ལང། འདི་ལྟར་འབྱུང་ངོ།

577 A thin man shows his veins, as also does a fat horse.

༥༧༨ མི་བཟན་ཟ་བ་ལ་ལྕགས་ཀྱི་འགྲམ་པ་དགོས། མི་ཞིག་གི་གཡོག་ཀྱུག་ཏུ་བཙོད་སྨན་ཆེ་བ་དགོས་ཟེར།

578 To eat another man's food one would need iron jaws. (Of a servant who has a hard taskmaster.)

༥༧༩ མི་བསོད་བདེ་མེད་ཅིག་བླ་མའི་ཇོ་ཟ་ས་ལ། ཁ་ཟས་ཞིམ་པ་ཟ་དུས་སུ་མི་ཞིག་སླེབ་ན་ཟེར།

579 The unfortunate man arrived when the lama was eating food. (An ironic expression.)

༥༨༠ མི་ཚེ་སང་གཏམ་ཚེ་རིང། ཤི་སྟེ་ཡང་གཏམ་ངན་ལུས་ཡིན་ཟེར།

580 One's reputation outlives one's lifetime.

༥༨༡ མི་མཁས་པས་ཉི་མ་རྒྱབ་ནས་ལྡེ། ཉི་མ་རྒྱབ་ནས་ལྡེ་ན་གདོང་མི་སྨྲིག་པ་ལྟར་མི་མཁས་པའི་བྱེད་ལུགས་ལ་ལྟོས་ཟེར།

581 The wise man warms his back by the sun.

༥༨༢ མི་མེད་དེ་ཡུལ་ལ་སྲེག་པའི་ལོངས་སྤྱོད། འདོར་དེ་མེད་པའི་ཁྲོད་དུ་མི་སྲེག་པ་འདྲ་བ་ལ་གང་དགའ་བྱེད་པའི་སྐབས་རྙེད་ན་ཟེར།

582 In a sterile country the partridges enjoy luxury.

༥༨༣ མི་མ་ཤི་བར་ཁྲབ། རྟ་མ་ཤི་བར་རྔོག། མ་ཤི་བའི་སྔོན་དུ་འཕྲོག་ན་ཟེར།

583 Before the man died he divested him of his armour, and before the horse died he clipped his mane.

༥༨༤ མི་མང་གི་ལག་པ་ལ་གསེར། མི་མང་མཐུན་ཏེ་ལས་བྱེད་ན་བྱིན་རླབས་ཆེ་ཟེང།

584 There is gold in the hands of a group of men (i.e. much blessing comes through co-operators).

༥༨༥ མི་ཞིག་ཆུ་ལ་བཀལ་ན། རང་ཡང་རྐེད་པ་ཆུག་པ་ཆུབ་དགོས། གཞན་ལ་གནོད་སྐྱེལ་ན་རང་ལའང་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

585 Throw a man into the river, and you yourself will sink up to the waist in it.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༥༨༦ མི་ཞིག་མགོ་ནས་ཟད། རྟ་ཞིག་རྐང་ནས་ཟད། མི་རྒུད་ན་གདོང་དང་སྨྲ་ཟད། རྟ་རྒུད་ན་ར་སྒྲོ་དང་རྫ་མ་ཟད་ཟེར།

586 An old man grows weak from his head downwards, a horse from his feet upwards. (A man's failing strength is first seen in his face, and a horse in the loss of his tail and hoofs.)

༥༨༧ མི་རེ་ཞོད་རེ། མི་རེ་ལ་ཡོབས་ངན་རེ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

587 Each man possesses a bad habit.

༥༨༨ མི་ལས་ལ་བྲམ་པ། རང་ལས་ལ་དྲེད་པ། གཞན་གྱི་ཙར་ལས་བྱེད་ཀྱང་རང་གི་ལས་མི་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

588 He is assiduous for others and careless of his own interests.

༥༨༩ མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་མི་ཐག། ར་ལ་ཚིལ་མི་ཐག། མ་ཤེས་པར་སྐྱིད་པོའི་དུས་སྐྱང་ན་ཟེར།

589 A man does not tolerate happiness, nor does a goat carry fat. (When a man does not know when he is well off, e.g. the prodigal son.)

༥༩༠ མི་ཤི་འགྲོ། གད་པ་རྡིབ་འགྲོ། མི་ཤི་དང་མཉམ་དུ་དེའི་ནོར་ལ་ཡང་རྡུ་རྡུགས་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

590 With the death of a man, the cliff also falls on him. (As a falling cliff disintegrates, so does everything belonging to a man when he dies.)

༥༩༡ མི་ཤི་བའི་གདེང་པ་སུ་ལ་འང་མེད། ཤི་བ་དང་མི་རྟག་པའི་སྐོར་དུ་ཟེར།

591 No one can believe that there is no death.

༥༩༢ མི་སྙིང་ལ་གཏམ་དང་། གཡག་སྙིང་ལ་རྡོ་བ། གཡག་ལ་རྡོ་བ་འཕོག་ན་སྙིང་དུ་འཁྱུར་བ་ལྟར། མིའི་སྙིང་ལ་གཏམ་འཕོག་ཟེར།

592 Speech hurts a man's heart as a stone hurts the heart of a yak.

༥༩༣ མི་ལ་འཚེར་ཆད་མེད། ཁྱི་ལ་ལྟོགས་ཆད་མེད།

593 Man is always in trouble, and a dog is always hungry.

༥༩༤ མི་ཤ་སྟོང་གཅིག། མི་ཤ་དངུལ་སྟོང་ཡིན་ཟེར།

594 For manslaughter a fine of 1,000 pieces of silver.

༥༩༥ མི་ཟའི་ཚུལ་དང་རྡུལ་ཟ། ཕིག་མོའི་འོག་ན་ཕིག་ཆུ་འཐུང་མཁན། ལས་ངན་པ་མི་བྱེད་པའི་ཁྲུངས་ཀྱིས་བྱེད་པ་དང་། ཁ་ཟས་དང་ཕག་སྲུག་མི་ཟ་ཟེར་གྱིན་ཟ་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

595 Feigning not to eat, he eats offal, and drinks the water under his knee.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༥༩༦ མི་འཁྱམ་ཡོངས་པ་ཡུལ་ལ་གནོད། ཁྱི་འཁྱམ་ཡོངས་པ་སྲང་ལ་གནོད། མི་འཁྱམ་པོས་
གནོད་སྐྱེལ་ན་ཟེར།

596 A vagrant ruins a country, a pariah dog contaminates a street.

༥༩༧ མི་ཡུལ་ཁྲ་མ་ཁྲོ། འཛིག་རྟེན་ན་འགྲོ་མི་གཅིག་པ་མང་སྟེ། སུས་མྱ་ངན་བྱེད། སུས་དགའ་
སྟོན་བྱེད། སུ་ན། སུ་ཁམས་བདེ། སུ་ཕྱུག། སུ་དབུལ་བ་ལ་སོགས་འཛིག་རྟེན་ཁྲ་བོ་
ཡིན་ཟེར།

597 The world has different colours.

༥༩༨ མིག་མལ་ལ་མིག།

598 An eye instead of an eye. (When a mother bears another son in place of one that has died.)

༥༩༩ མིག་གཡས་གཡོན་ལ་ཁྱད་མེད། རང་ཕྲུག་ཀུན་ལ་ཁྱད་མི་བྱེད་ཟེར།

599 There is no difference between the right and the left eyes. (When a man loves his children equally.)

༦༠༠ མིག་རྩ་ལ་ལྟས་ཏེ། རྩུས་རྩ་ལ་ཁྲག། མི་ཚོད་བླངས་ནས་གནོད་པ་སྐྱེལ་ན་ཟེར།

600 When testing his courage, he drew his blood.

༦༠༡ མིག་འཚག་ལ་དུ་བས་སྡང་། མིག་ན་བ་དང་དབུལ་པོ་ལ་དགྲ་བྱེད་པ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

601 Smoke is an enemy to the secretions of the eyes.

༦༠༢ མིག་བསོད་བདེ་ཅན་ནི་མཐོང་སྟེ། ཁ་བསོད་བདེ་མེད་ལ་མི་མྱང་། མིག་གིས་མཐོང་ཚད་ཁ་
ལ་མི་ཐེབ་ཟེར།

602 That which he saw with his lucky eyes his unlucky mouth could not taste.

༦༠༣ མིའི་ཁྲེལ་བ། རང་གི་འཕུང་བ། Or མི་ཁྲེལ་རང་འཕུང་། ཁྲེལ་བ་དང་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་
དུས་ཟེར།

603 Defamation from men and ruin to oneself.

༦༠༤ མིའི་ཏོ་གོར་ཆེན་མོ་མཐོང་ཅེས། མི་གཞན་ལ་ཐོབ་པ་དེ་རང་ལ་ཐོབ་པ་བས་ཆེ་བ་མཐོང་བ།

604 To regard another man's portion of food bigger than that of one's own.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༦༠༥ མིའི་མགོའི་ཁ་བྱ། རང་རི་མགོའི་ཁ་རི། བར་རྡོའམ་ཁ་བཀྱི་བ་གཞན་ལ་ཡང་མོ་དང་རང་ལ་ལྗིད་ཏུ་ཚོར་ན་ཟེར།

605 As a bird on another's head and as a mountain on one's own head (i.e. one who regards other people's troubles lightly and one's own troubles seriously).

༦༠༦ མིའི་རྒྱུ་ལ་རྩམ་པའི་ཕྲུན། མི་གསོན་དུ་རྩམ་པ་དགོས་ཟེར།

606 Bread is the warp and weft of man.

༦༠༧ མིའི་ལད་མོ་ལ་ཁྱི་ཀྲོང་ཀྲོང་། མི་ཆེན་གྱི་ལད་མོ་མི་ཆུང་གིས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

607 The dog imitates man by standing erect.

༦༠༨ མིས་བསགས་པའི་ནོར་དང་། སྦྲང་མས་བསགས་པའི་སྦྲང་རྩི་འདྲ། ནོར་བསྡུ་བ་ནི་གཞན་དོན་ལ་བསྡུ་བ་འདྲ་ཟེར།

608 Wealth accumulated by man is like honey collected by bees (i.e. it is collected only for someone else to use).

༦༠༩ མིས་ཅི་ཟེར་ལ་མ་ཉན། ཅི་བྱེད་ལ་ལྟོས། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

609 Don't listen to what a man says, but observe what he does.

༦༡༠ མེ་འབར་རི་ཁ་ཤིང་སྣོན་མ། མི་ཞིག་ལ་ཧེབ་སྡོ་ཡོང་བཙུག་ན་ཟེར།

610 To pile on wood to a burning fire.

༦༡༡ མེ་འབུ་སར་ས་འཚིག། མགྲོན་ཞིག་གཏང་ན་འབུད་སྒོ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

611 The earth burns where the fire is alight. (When giving a feast, no expense is spared.)

༦༡༢ མེད་དེ་རྐུ། ཡོད་དེ་བཤལ།

612 Not possessing anything he stole, but on possessing he had to pay a fine.

༦༡༣ མེད་པའི་སྒོ་ལ་ཁྱི་མི་འཁད། དབུལ་པོའི་རྩར་ཁྱི་ཡང་མི་ལུས་ཟེར།

613 A dog is not caught in a house without a door (i.e. in the house of the poor even a dog will not be seen).

༦༡༤ མེ་དམར་རི་ནང་ལ་ལག་དམར། ཉེན་ཆེ་བའི་ནང་ལ་མི་འཛིས་པའི་དོན་ནོ།

614 To thrust a red hand into a red-hot fire.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༦༡༥ མོ་གྲོས་ཐལ་བ། བུད་མེད་ཀྱི་གྲོས་ཐལ་བ་འདྲ་ཟེར།

615 The advice of a woman is as dust.

༦༡༦ མིག་ཟུན་ན། སོ་ཟུན་ཕན། མིག་ཟུན་ན་མིག་ན་བ་དང་། སྨུ་བ་དང་རྨ་ཁ་ཟུན་ན་ཕན་པའི་
རྟགས་ཡིན་ཟེར།

616 If the sore itches, this means a cure, and if the eye smarts it means pain.

༦༡༧ མི་རྒན་གྱི་ཁ་ལ་མ་ཉན་ན། བྱ་རུས་སྦལ་གྱི་ཁ་ནས་རྐྱེན་ཞིག་ལང་། རྒན་པོའི་ཁ་ལ་མ་ཉན་ན་
གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

617 If you do not listen to the advice of an old man, the bird-tortoise will suffer harm.

༦༡༨ མིག་གི་ནང་རྡུལ་མི་ཤོང་། ཆོས་སེ་ནང་ལ་རྫུན་མི་ཤོང་། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

618 There is no room for dust in the eyes, and no room for fallacy in religion.

༦༡༩ མེ་ཤུལ་ཆུའི་སང་གྲང་། ཆུ་ཤུལ་མེའི་སང་དྲོ། མེ་ལྡེས་འོག་གྲང་བ་དང་ཆུར་ཁྲུགས་འོག་
དྲོའོ་ཟེར།

619 Colder than water after leaving the fire: warmer than fire after leaving the water. (When leaving a fire one feels colder and after a cold bath one feels warmer.)

༦༢༠ མོན་མིག་ལ་ཐལ་བ། མོན་ལ་མགོ་བསྐོར་སླ་མོ་ཟེར།

620 Dust in the eyes of a Mon. (Lahoulis say it is easy to deceive a man from Kulu in a trading transaction.).

༦༢༡ མོས་ན་ཁྱི་སོ་ལ་འོད་འབར། དད་པ་བྱེད་ན་ཁྱི་སོ་ནས་འོད་འཁྲོ་བ་མཐོང་ཟེར།

621 If you trust the teeth of a dog then it will shine. The Buddhists think that trust is more important than the object of one's trust.

༦༢༢ དམག་རྒྱལ་པོ། དམག་ཅིག་ལོག་ན་མཁར་ཞིག་བཞིག། ཡུལ་མི་ཐམས་ཅད་གཅིག་བྱེད་ན་
མཁར་ཡང་གཅོག་ནུས་ཟེར།

622 The public is the king. If the people revolt, the fort will be destroyed.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༦༢༣ དམག་ཆ་ས་ལ་བུ། ཉེན་ཅན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཐམས་ཅད་འགྲོ་སར་རང་གི་བུ་ཡང་གཏོང་དགོས་ཟེར།

623 Where the people go, there my son must also go.

༦༢༤ རྨ་བྱ་ལ་རང་མཐོང་སྐྱེ་ཅེས། གོས་ལྷ་བུའི་ཕྱིར་ཚོ་སོ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

624 The peacock grows proud through viewing his own beauty.

༦༢༥ སྨན་པ་ཚ་ག་ཚོ་གེ། ནད་པའི་གཤེན་པ། ཨམ་ཆི་ཀྱབ་ཀྱོབ་ཀྱིས་ནད་པ་གསོད་དོ་ཟེར།

625 The ignorant physician is the executioner of his patients.

༦༢༦ མ་སྤྲད་པ་བྱས་དོན་ཆེན་གྲུབ་ན། ངང་ཆེན་སྡིང་། ལས་དོན་འགྲུབ་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ན་སྡིང་དགོས་ཟེར།

626 If you can fulfil your purpose without cost, then pause a while.

༦༢༧ མར་ཟ་བ་སང་། ཤ་མཐོང་ང་རྒྱལ། མར་ལས་ཤ་གཟུགས་པོར་ཕན་ཟེར།

627 Better to look at the meat than eat the butter. (Meat is more nutritious than butter.)

༦༢༨ མ་སྡོང་དགུ་སྡོང་སྡོང་ཅེས།

628 To collect whatever there is to be gathered together. (A man afflicted with several diseases at once.)

ཙ

༦༢༩ ཙན་དན་ཤི་རྒྱབ་ནས་བཞོག་སྟེ་མདུན་ལ། དཔོན་པོ་སོགས་ལས་ནོར་རྫས་ནས་དེ་ལས་དཔོན་པོ་ལ་མགྲོན་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

629 To hew sandalwood from behind and to place the chips in front of it. (When a servant gives a feast to his master from a present he has already secured from him.)

༦༣༠ ཙན་དན་ལ་རྩྭ་མག་གི་སྐོར་ར། ཙན་དན་ལ་འཛག་མ་སྐོར་བ་ལྟར། མི་ཆེན་གྱི་གཏམ་གྱི་ཁར་ཆུང་བས་སྣན་མ་ཞུ་དུས་སུ་ཟེར།

630 To surround a sandal tree with blades of grass. (Used when a servant adds his advice to what his master has already stated.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༦༣༡ བཙུགས་པའི་ཤིང་དང༌། བསྐོས་པའི་མི། ཤིང་སྐྱངས་པ་ལྟར་ལས་སྣེར་སྐོས་པ་ལ་སྤྱི་སྣང་ཙོམས་ཟེར།

631 A tree planted, and a man appointed to a position (i.e. a man thus appointed must be obeyed).

༦༣༢ བཙེམ་པའི་ཁབ་དང༌། གཅོད་པའི་གྲི། མཐུན་འཛུག་མཁན་ཁབ་དང་འཛིང་སློ་སློང་མཁན་གྲི་དང་འདྲ་ཟེར།

632 A needle with which to stitch, and a knife to cut (i.e. an arbitrator is like a needle to sew a rent in cloth; a man who causes strife among friends is like a knife which cuts).

༦༣༣ བཙོས་པའི་ཤ་ལ་རྗེན་ལོག་ཅེས། གཏམ་ཐག་བཅད་པའི་རྗེས་སུ་ཡང་གཏམ་དེ་ལ་སྐྱར་རེ་ལོག་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

633 To turn cooked meat into raw (meat). (When a man opens up a disputed subject which has already been closed.)

༦༣༤ སྟི་གུ་མངར་མོའི་འཚོར་ངེས་ཞག་བདུན། འཚོར་ངེས་ཅན་གྱི་འཚོར་ངེས་སྐྱུར་པོར་འགྱུར་ཟེར།

634 The enjoyment of a sweet kernel lasts seven days. (Like ‘a new broom sweeps clean’.)

༦༣༥ རྩིག་རུལ་སློང་ན་ཕུག་རུལ། མི་ངན་པའི་ཁ་སློང་ན། ལྷག་པར་གཏམ་ངན་པ་མིན་པ་བཟང་ཕོ་མི་འདོན་ཟེར།

635 Search through a rotten wall, and you will find rotten straw. (Moral: Don’t go into the details of the causes of a quarrel, but try to reconcile the disgruntled parties.)

༦༣༦ ཙན་དན་ནི་མེ་གཡོག་དང༌། གོས་ཆེན་ནི་ཐབ་ཕྱིས། བཀོལ་དུ་མི་རུང་བ་ཞིག་བཀོལ་ན་ཟེར།

636 To use sandalwood as a fire iron and to wipe the hearth with one’s silk clothes.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༦༣༧ རྩམ་པའི་ཁག་ཐེག་བུལ་གྱིས་བྱས་ལྷགས་པས་འཁྱེར་ན་འཁྱེར་མཉམ། དབུལ་པོ་ཞིག་གི་འགན་དབུལ་པོ་གཞན་གྱིས་འཁུར་ན་དེ་ལྟར་འོང་ཟེར།

637 If soda is used as a guarantee for roasted barley flour, the wind carries them both away. A bad man cannot give aid to another poor person.

ཚ

༦༣༨ ཚྭ་མེད་བྲོ་མེད་ཟ་བ་སང་། གར་མེད་ཡང་མེད་ཤོར་བ་རྒྱལ། ཁ་ཟས་བྲོད་མེད་ཟ་བ་སང་མ་ཟ་ན་ལེགས་ཟེར།

638 Better to run away than to eat food which is without salt and taste.

༦༣༩ ཚ་ན་མེད་པའི་རོ་འཁྱེར་ཅེས། ཚ་ན་མེད་པས་རོ་ལ་ཡ་ཤ་མི་བྱེད་པ་ལྟར་ལས་རབ་རོབ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

639 To carry off a corpse without sympathy. (When a servant does careless work.)

༦༤༠ ཚིལ་མཐོང་སྐེ་ཁ་གས་ཅེས། གཞན་གྱི་ནོར་མཐོང་ནས་སྙིང་འཁམ་འཁམ་ཆ་ཅེས་ལ་ཟེར།

640 His lips cracked on seeing the fat. (Used of a covetous person.)

༦༤༡ ཚུགས་ས་ལ་རྒྱུན་དུ་ཅེས། མི་འཚོགས་སར་བྱེད་མི་འོས་པའི་ལས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

641 To slice ones skin to make string in a public place. (When a person does something unseemly in a public place.)

༦༤༢ ཚར་གཅིག་ལ་དྭགས་གོང་ཀ་ལ་མཚན་སོང་ཟེར་ཏེ། ཞག་དང་མི་ཆ། ཚར་གཅིག་དཀའ་བ་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར་རྒྱུན་དུ་མི་འོང་ཟེར།

642 If it gets dark at Ladaksgonga once, it will not always be dark.

༦༤༣ ཚར་གཅིག་འདུག་མ་ཤེས་ན། ཚར་བརྒྱ་ལང་དགོས། ཅི་ཞིག་བསམ་པ་མ་བཏང་བར་བྱེད་ན། ཡང་ཡང་བྱེད་དགོས་སོ་ཟེར།

643 If you do not know how to sit down, you will have to rise up a hundred times (i.e. if a person does his work thoughtlessly, he must do it over again many times).

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༦༤༤ ཚོང་པ་དྲེད་མ་ཆུག། རྐུན་མ་རྫོགས་མ་ཆུག། ཚོང་པ་དང་ཉེ་མོ་དང་རྐུན་མ་དང་ཐག་རིང་བྱས་ཟེར།

644 Don't let traders become weary, and don't let a thief become inured to theft (i.e. be friendly towards traders and avoid a thief).

༦༤༥ འཚོང་པོ་འཚོང༌། ངོ་པོ་ངོ། མི་ངོར་མ་ལྟ་བར་འཚོང་བྱས། ངོ་ལ་ལྟ་ན་རིན་མེད་པར་ཐོང་ཟེར།

645 A bargain is a bargain, and concession is a concession. (When drawing a bargain you need not consider the bargainer's feelings.)

༦༤༦ མཚན་གཅིག་ལ་མཚན་བརྒྱ་མཐོང་ཙམ། མཚན་མོར་གཉིད་མི་འོང་བའི་བར་དོར་ཟེར།

646 One night seemed like a hundred.

༦༤༧ མཚན་འགྲུལ་པ་ལ་སྔ་ཕྱི་མེད། མཚན་ལ་འགྲུལ་མཁན་ལ་མགྱོགས་འགོར་མེད།

647 For him who travels during the night, it is neither early nor late.

ཛ

༦༤༨ འཛིང་བ་ལྷ་ཡུལ་ལ་ཡང༌། སྡུམ་པ་སྲིན་ཡུལ་ལ་ཡང༌། བཟང་འགྲིག་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

648 Fighting goes on even in Paradise, and arbitration even in the land of the cannibals. (When compromising a dispute.)

༦༤༩ འཛུམ་འཛུམ་བྱེད་པའི་ལི་ཀྱིར་རི་ལྷ་སྐུ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་ནང་སྟོའི་རྒྱུས་པོ་ང་ལ་ཡོད། སྔོན་ཀྲུ་འཕྱིལ་དུ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཞིག་བཞེང་དུས་སུ་སྦལ་ཏི་ཞིག་བསླེབ་ནས། ས་དང་འཛིམ་པ་ལས་སྐུ་འདྲ་བྱེད་པ་མཐོང་ནས་བྱང་ཐང་དུ་སོང་ནས་ལོག་དུས་སུ་སྐུ་དེ་ཚོན་རྩིས་མཚར་པོ་བྱས་ཏེ་རབ་གནས་བྱེད་པ་དང་ཁ་ཐུག་སོང་བས། དེས་གོང་འདྲ་སྨྲས་པ་དེ་གཏམ་དཔེར་ལྟུས། རྒྱུས་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཚོ་སོ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

649 Oh you grinning idol of Likir, I am acquainted with the inside of your belly. (A Balti saw an artist in Likir making a clay idol. When the Balti returned from Changtang to Likir, he saw a crowd gathered for the dedication of the idol when he quoted this saying.—Now the saying is used when a man makes a boast before someone who knows him too well.)

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༦༥༠ མཛའ་བོའི་ཁོག་པ་རྟ་སྣོང་དང་གཡག་སྣོང་། ཚབ་རྩི་གཏང་ན་ཁབ་དང་སྐུད་པ། དེ་དུས་སུ་མཛའ་བོས་རྟ་གཡག་ཀྱང་སྦྱིན་ནུས་ཀྱི། མ་མཐུན་ན་ཁབ་དང་སྐུད་པ་ཙམ་ལའང་རྩིས་བྱེད་ཟེར།

650 In the mind of a friend he will make provision for a horse and a yak, but when doing business he calculates even to a needle and thread (i.e. when a man is friendly he is generous, but when his friendship ceases, he calculates even to a needle and thread.)

༦༥༡ མཛའ་བོ་ཉེ་ན་ཡང་། རྒྱག་སྒྲིག་ལ་ཁ་རྟེག། ཉེ་མོ་ཡོད་ནའང་རང་ནོར་ལ་ཉར་བྱེད་དགོས་ཟེར།

651 Though you should have an intimate friend, you should lock up your bag of provisions.

༦༥༢ མཛའ་བོ་བརྒྱ་ཡང་ཉུང་། དགྲ་བོ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མང་། དགྲ་བོ་གཅིག་ཡོད་ན་དེ་ཡང་མཛའ་བོ་སྒྲོས་ཟེར།

652 A hundred friends are too few, and one enemy is too many. (It means, one should make friends with an enemy, for even a hundred friends could not prevent him from killing you.)

༦༥༣ མཛའ་བོ་ཅི་ལ་འཁོན། ནོར་རི་ཐེ་ལ་འཁོན། ནོར་གྱིས་མཛའ་བོ་ཡང་དགྲ་བོ་བྱེད་ཟེར།

653 Why do friends bear you malice? Because they count your wealth.

༦༥༤ མཛའ་བོས་ནི་གྲི་མི་རྐུ། ཁྱིས་ནི་གྲི་མི་ཟ། མི་གཉིས་བྱེས་སུ་ཡོད་སྐབས་སུ་གྲི་སྟོར་བས་དེ་ལྟར་སྨྲས་པ་ཡིན།

654 A friend will not steal my knife and a dog will not eat it. (Once upon a time a man, his friend and a dog went on a journey, and on the way he lost his knife. The friend then made this remark.)

༦༥༥ མཛུག་གུ་མ་ནི་གྲུ་མོ་འཛོང་ཁའི་ནང་ལ་མི་སླེབ། དགོས་དུས་སུ་རང་གི་གཉེན་མིན་པ་གཞན་མི་ཕན་ཟེར།

655 It is not one's elbow, but one's finger which can reach one's mouth. (When in trouble it is only one's relatives, and not others who will help you.)

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༦༥༦ མཛུག་གུ་གཅད་ན་ཁྲག་མི་ཤིགས། སེར་སྣ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

656 Even if he cuts his finger, he will not waste the blood (of a miserly person).

༦༥༧ མཛོ་མོ་བྱང་ཐང་འཁོར་ན་ཡང༌། སྣ་ལོ་བུ་ཚའི་ལག་ལ། ཆུང་མ་འབྲོན་ནས་གང་དུ་ཕྱིན་ཀྱང་ངའི་དབང་དུ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

657 Though the dzomo* should wander to Changtang, her tether remains in the lad's hand. (A married man still has authority over the wife who has abandoned him.)

༦༥༨ མཛོ་ལ་དྲིས་ཏེ་ཞིང་རྨོ་མཁན། གཡོག་པོ་ལྟ་བུར་དྲིས་ནས་ལས་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

658 He who ploughs after consulting with his ox.

༦༥༩ རྫ་མ་ལ་རྫ་ཐུག། མཉམ་དུ་སྡོད་པའི་ནང་དུ་རེས་འཛིང་འཐབ་ཡོང་ཟེར།

659 The earthen pot came in contact with the clay. ('Familiarity breeds contempt.')

༦༦༠ རྫུན་ཁར་ལེན་ན། རྫེས་ཆུང༌། རྫུན་མཐོལ་ན། དེའི་སྐྱོན་ཆུང་དུ་འགྲོ་ཟེར།

660 To confess a fault lessens its severity.

ཝ

༦༦༡ ཝ་ཁ་པ་དང་འགྲན་ན་རྐེད་པ་འཐོག། མི་སྟོབས་ཅན་དང་ང་འགྲན་མི་ནུས་ཟེར། སྔོན་དུས་སུ་ཝ་ཁ་པ་རྒྱུད་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན།

661 To compete with the man from Wakha, one's spine would be dislocated.

༦༦༢ ཝ་མི་འགྱུལ་འདྲེའི་འགྲམ་ལྕག། བོད་པས་མཚན་མོར་ཝ་ལ་ལྟ་འདྲེ་ཞོན་ནས་འདེད་དོ་སེམས་པས། མི་དབང་མེད་ཞིག་གིས་གཡོག་མི་བྱེད་ཁ་མེད་ཡིན་ཟེར།

662 The ghost slapped the face of the fox who was then obliged to go on. (Tibetans have the story of a ghost riding upon the back of a fox. Used of a man who must perform a task whether he likes it or not.)

---

* A dzomo is a hybrid between a yak and a cow.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༦༦༣ ཝ་འགྲོ་འགྲོ་མང་ན། ཝ་ལྤགས་དང་འབྲལ། བྱ་འགྲོ་འགྲོ་མང་ན་བྱ་རྐང་ཆག། Or
རྐུན་འདྲ་གང་ན་ཐུབ། ལན་མང་རྐུ་བ་འམ་ངན་པ་བྱེད་ན་ཞག་ཅིག་འཁད་ཟེར།

663 If the fox runs too much, his hide will fall off him; if a bird hops too much he will break his leg. (If a thief or evil-doer persists in his evil deeds, he will be caught one day.)

ཞ

༦༦༤ ཞག་ངན་ལ་འཛིང་ན། ཞག་བཟང་ལ་མཐུན། སྡུམ་དུས་ལ་ཟེར།

664 If you quarrel on an unlucky day, be reconciled on a lucky one.

༦༦༥ ཞག་ཤིག་འབེ་དའང་ཇ་སྐོལ་ཅས་ཞིག་འཚོར་ཡིན། ཞག་ཅིག་ང་ལ་འང་ཁ་ཟས་ཞིམ་པོ་ཐོབ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

665 The musicians also will obtain one day the wherewithal to make some tea.

༦༦༦ ཞག་གསུམ་གྱི་མགྲོན་པོ། མགྲོན་པོ་ལྷར་མགྱོགས་པ་འབྲལ་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

666 The guest of three days. (Of those who cannot stay for long, i.e. ‘A bird of passage’.)

༦༦༧ ཞར་ར་ཁང་བཤིག། ཞ་བོ་ཡུལ་བཤིག! ཞར་བ་དང་ཞ་བོས་གཏམ་མང་འབད་ཅིང་འཁྲུག་སྐྱུལ་བྱེད་ཟེར།

667 The blind man ruins his home, and the lame man destroys his village.

༦༦༨ ཞིང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ན་འཕུང་རྒྱ་ཆེ། ཞིང་མང་ན་བདག་ཀྱིན་མི་འགྲོངས་ཏེ་མང་ཆེར་འཕུང་ཟེར།

668 If the field is too large, the damage will be great. (Of a man who has too many fields to cultivate.)

༦༦༩ ཞིང་མེད་ལ་ཡུར་མ་མང་པོ། རང་ལས་མེད་པས་མིས་བཀོལ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

669 He who possesses no fields has to do much weeding.

༦༧༠ ཞིང་མེད་སང་ཁང་མེད་སྡུ། རང་ཁང་མེད་པ་ལ་བར་དོ་ཡོང་ཟེར།

670 A man without a house is worse off than one without fields.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༦༧༡ ཞིམ་པོ་མི་ལ། ལག་མོ་རང་ལ། གཞན་ལ་ཟས་ཞིམ་པོ་དང་རང་གིས་གོས་ལག་མོ་གོན་
ཟེར།

671 Delicious flavour for others, fine clothes for oneself.

༦༧༢ གཞིས་མད་མ་ལག་མཁན། ཁྱོ་དང་ཆུང་མ་རྒྱུན་དུ་མ་ལག་མཁན་ལྟར་འཁྲབ་ཀྱིན་སྡོད་པ་ལ་
ཟེར།

672 Husband and wife behaving like a quarrelsome clown.

༦༧༣ གཞིས་མད་གཡོག་བུས་ཀྱི་མགོ་མཇུག་ལ་འཛིང། ཁྱོ་ཤུག་གཉིས་དོན་མེད་པར་འཛིང་
ཟེར།

673 The married couple disputed for the top and the bottom end of the hearth stick.

༦༧༤ གཞོབ་སྣག་ན་ཞོབ་དྲི་མི་བྲོ། འཛོར་དེ་མེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

674 If it is burned in the fire, there will be no smell of burning.

ཟ

༦༧༥ ཟ་ས་སྤྲང་བུ་དང་ཉལ་ས་བྲག་བུ། རང་གི་འདུག་ས་ལང་སའི་གྲལ་འགྲིག་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

675 The meadow for grazing, and the rock for resting.

༦༧༦ ཟ་བ་ཁ་ཏས་ཟོས། ལྐུང་ཀའི་ཁ་དམར་པོ། སྐྱོན་ཡོད་པ་བུད་དེ་སྐྱོན་མེད་ལ་སྐད་འཛོག་ན་
ཟེར།

676 The meat was eaten by the crow, but the jackdaw's beak was red.

༦༧༧ ཟ་ཅས་ཀྱི་ལྷག་མ་སུས་ཀྱང་ཟ་ཡིན། ལས་ཀྱི་ལྷག་མ་སུས་ཟ་ཡིན། ལས་ཕྱེ་རལ་དུ་མ་བོར་
ཟེར།

677 Everyone will eat the remains of food, but who will complete the unfinished task ?

༦༧༨ ཟ་ཙོ་ན་ཞིམ་པོ། བཤལ་ཙོ་ན་དཀགས་པོ། བུ་ལོན་བཟུང་བ་སྣ་ཡང་འཇལ་བ་དཀགས་པོ་
ཡིན་ཟེར།

678 To eat food is pleasant, but to pay for it, is difficult.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༦༧༩ ཟ་མཁན་ལ་སླ་མོ། རིག་མཁན་ལ་དཀའ་པོ། དཀའ་ལས་ཚང་མ་ནང་གི་དོ་དམ་པ་ལ་འབབ་ཟེར།

679 Easy for those who eat, but difficult for him who provides it.

༦༨༠ ཟས་ཤེབ་ཟ་ན་ལྟོགས་ཤེབ། གོས་ཤེབ་གོན་ན་འཁྱགས་ཤེབ། མང་དུ་ཟ་བ་དང་གོན་པ་ལ་མང་དུ་དགོས་སོ་ཟེར།

680 The more you eat the hungrier you will be; the more clothes you put on the colder you will be.

༦༨༡ ཟས་ཕྱེད་ཚོད་མ། གོས་ཕྱེད་ལྷན་པ། ཚོད་མ་ཟ་བ་དང་ལྷན་པ་བཏབ་པ་གོན་ཟེར།

681 Half of one's food vegetables, and half of one's clothes patches.

༦༨༢ ཟི་ཞིམ་མི་མིག་ནས་སྣུམ་བུ་ཁྲིད། སེམས་ཅན་བུད་མེད་མི་སྡུག་པ་ཡང་མཛེས་མོ་མཐོང་ཟེར།

682 Through the eyes of Zilim he sees Snum-bu-trid. (If a man loves a woman, her looks do not matter.)

༦༨༣ ཟེར་མཁན་པོ་ཡང་བླ་མ། བཙོ་མཁན་པོ་ཡང་བླ་མ། བླ་མས་མ་བྱེད་ཟེར་གྱིན་ལས་དེ་ཀ་བླ་མས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

683 The priest was the speaker as well as the doer. (When a man commits the offence about which he warns others.)

༦༨༤ ཟོར་བ་བོར་ཏེ་ལག་རྔས། ཤེས་མཁན་ལ་བྱེད་མ་བཅུག་པར་མི་ཞན་པས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

684 Laying aside his sickle he reaped with his hand. (Of one who replaces a good workman with a bad one.)

༦༨༥ ཟོས་ཟོས་པའི་ཁབ་ཙུད་དང་། རྡུང་བརྡུངས་པའི་རྡོད་པ། ཁ་ཚུད་པ་དང་རྡོད་པའི་སྐོར་དུ་ཟེར།

685 Through continually eating he acquired the habit of eating, and by continually being beaten he got his lesson.

༦༨༦ ཟོས་པ་རྒྱུད་དེ། འཁུར་པ་འབུད་དེ། རང་གི་རྒྱགས་ཀྱི་ཁུར་ལས་ཟ་ན་ཁུ་རུ་ཡང་དུ་འགྲོ་ཟེར།

686 He eats food to repletion, and that which he eats from his load diminished in quantity. (A man's ration for the journey diminishes as he uses up his food.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༦༨༧ ཟོས་པ་རང་ནོར། འཁུར་པ་མི་ནོར། ཁ་ཟས་ཡོད་དུ་བཅུག་ནས་ཟོ་ཟེར།

687 What you eat is your own, what you carry is someone else's property.

༦༨༨ ཟོས་ཟོས་པའི་སྤྱང་ཀུ་ཁ་དམར། རྒྱུན་དུ་ཟ་ལོབས་སོང་སྟེ་ཡོད་པས་ཁ་གདང་ངོ་ཟེར།

688 The wolf's mouth is bloody through much eating. (Used in reference to a man who is always wanting something which he formerly enjoyed.)

༦༨༩ ཟ་མི་འཐད་མཁན་སྨྱོན་པ་ཡིན་ན། ནོར་ལེན་མི་འཐད་མཁན་སྨྱོན་པ་ཡིན་ནམ་ཟེར།

689 Is he mad who does not care to devour (other people's property)?

༦༩༠ གཟུགས་ཀྱི་མག་གདན་ཆེ་ན་རྒྱལ། རྐང་པ་ཆེ་བ་རྒྱལ་ཟེར།

690 Better to have the base of one's body larger (i.e. better to have larger feet).

༦༩༡ བཟང་ཁ་འཐལ། ཚོད་ལས་འཐལ་བའི་བཟང་པོ་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

691 To overdo charity.

༦༩༢ བཟན་གྱི་ཁར་འཛོང། ལས་སི་ཁར་ཐིད། ཟ་བ་ལ་འོང་བ་དང་ལས་ལ་ཐོར་ཟེར།

692 To be present at a meal, and to flee from work.

༦༩༣ བཟན་མི་ཞིམ། སྐྱོག་ཞིམ། ཁ་ཟས་ཞིམ་པ་ལས་གྲལ་བདེ་བ་ཞིམ་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

693 Not the food, but the goblet has a good flavour. (Of a person who provides good table service.)

༦༩༤ བཟན་བྲོ་སྔན་ལ། མི་བྲོ་རྗེང་ནས། བཟན་བྲོད་ཟ་དུས་དང་མིའི་བྲོད་རྗེང་ནས་ཚོར་ཟེར།

694 The flavour of food in anticipation, the character of a man in retrospect (i.e. a good man's worth not recognised until he is dead).

༦༩༥ བཟན་རློན་གྱིས་ལྕེ་གཅོད། ཁ་ཟས་ཀྱི་ངོ་སྲུང་དགོས་འཛུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

695 The moist food cut his tongue. (When a man feeds another man, so that he cannot speak ill of his benefactor.)

༦༩༦ བཟན་དང་མཉམ་པོ་སྡེར། བཟན་མཉམ་དུ་སྡེར་མ་ཡང་འཁྱེར་འདྲའི་ལས་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

696 The plate as well as the food. (When a man behaves as one who steals the plate on which he received his food.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༦༩༧ བཟན་ངོ་ཁྲིས་མི་ལོག། བཟན་ངོ་མི་སྲུང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

697 A dog shows no gratitude for his food. (An ungrateful man.)

༦༩༨ བཟན་ཟོས་ཏེ་ཁ་ཕྱི་མི་ཤེས་མཁན། བློ་གྲོས་མེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

698 He does not know to wipe his mouth after food.

༦༩༩ བཟོ་ཕྱེ་རིལ་མི་ལ་མ་སྟོན། ལས་ཕྱེ་རིལ་མིས་མཐོང་ན་དེས་འཇིག་ཉེན་ཡོད་ཟེར།

699 Don't display your unfinished work.

༧༠༠ ཟླ་བ་དྲུག་པ་ཁ་ལ་རང་དུ་འཁོར་དུས། ཇི་གོན་བྱེད་དེ་ཇི་ཟའི་དུས། དབྱར་དཀྱིལ་ཟ་རྒྱུ་
དཀོན་པས་སོ།

700 July is the time when flies collect round your mouth. It is the time to say, 'what shall I eat ?', and not 'what shall I wear ?'. (Food scarce in summer, and no need to put on many clothes.)

༧༠༡ ཟླ་ཁྲིམ་འཁོར་ན་ཟླ་གཅིག་འཁོར། ཉི་ཁྲིམ་འཁོར་ན་ཉིན་གཅིག་འཁོར། དེ་བཞིན་འབྱུང་
དུས་ཟེར།

701 If the moon has a halo, it will be cloudy for a month; and if the sun has a halo, it will be cloudy for one day.

༧༠༢ ཟླ་གཅིག་ཕང་འཁྱུར་བ་སང་། ཞག་གཅིག་ཁབ་འཁྱུར་ན་རྒྱལ། ཁབ་འཁྱུར་བའི་ཕན་པ་ཆེ་
ཟེར།

702 Better to use a needle for one day than a spindle for one month. (Equivalent to: 'A stitch in time saves nine'.)

འ

༧༠༣ ཅན་ཐུག་ལ་ཐུག་པ། གཡེངས་པའི་ཞོབ་ནང་ཅན་ལ་ཐུག་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

703 Give soup to him who is exhausted. (Used to aggravate a man who has already lost his temper.)

༧༠༤ འོ་མ་དང་ཆུ་ཕྱེ་མཁན། གཤགས་དྲང་པོ་གཅོད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

704 He who separates water from milk. (Of a just judge.)

༧༠༥ འོ་རྒྱུགས་ཀྱི་ལུ་གུ། གཅེས་ཕྱུག་དྲགས་མེད་ལ་ཟེར།

705 The lamb well nourished with milk. (Of a child who is well nourished by his parents.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༧༠༦ ཙོབ་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་ཡོད་ནའང་། རྐང་པའི་གཡོག་ལ། མ་རབས་ལ་ནོར་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཆ
རབས་སུ་ལུས་ཟེར།

706 Though the stirrup is made of gold, yet it is under one's foot (i.e. though a man of low birth becomes rich, yet he remains ill-bred).

༧༠༧ འུག་པའི་ཁ་ནས་འུག་གཅིག། གཏམ་ལ་འགྱུར་འགྱུར་མེད་པར། ཇི་ཟེར་བ་ལ་གནས་དགོས་
ཟེར།

707 From an owl can come only an owl, and there is no adding to what has already been spoken (i.e. stand by what you say).

ཡ

༧༠༨ ཡ་རབས་མ་རབས་སྤྱོད་པས་ཤེས། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

708 You know a well-bred or ill-bred man by his character.

༧༠༩ ཡང་ཡང་སྐྱེ་བའི་བ་ནོན་སུ་ལའང་མེད། ཡང་སྐྱར་སྐྱེ་བའི་དབང་མེད་ཟེར།

709 No one has any power to be born again and again.

༧༡༠ ཡང་མོ་བལ་བཀལ་ནའང་། ལྕིན་ཏེ་ཚྭ་བཀལ་ནའང་། ཅི་འདོག་ནའང་འདོག་ཟེར།

710 It does not matter whether you load me with light wool or heavy salt (i.e. impose on me whatever way you wish).

༧༡༡ ཡི་གེ་ཀྱབ་ཀྱོབ་བསྟན་པའི་དགྲ། ཞག་གསུམ་སོང་བ་རང་ལ་མི་ཕྱེད། ཡི་གེ་ཅུང་ཙ་ཤེས་ན་
རང་ལ་གནོད་ཟེར།

711 Badly written letters are the enemy of religion; when he studied them after three days, he could not read them (i.e. the half-educated person is more dangerous than an illiterate man).

༧༡༢ ཡུ་རུ་པ་གནམ་ཆུ་ལ་ཁ་གདང་མཁན། རང་གིས་ལས་མ་བྱེད་པར་མིའི་ཁ་ཟས་ལ་རེ་བ་བྱེད་
པ་ལ་ཟེར།

712 The people of Yuru wait for the rain. (Of those who will not work, but rely on others to feed them.)

༧༡༣ ཡུལ་མཐོང་གྱི་མ་ལ་ཛ་མ་ལ་དགོད་ཤོར། དགོས་པའི་སར་སྙིབ་ཀྱིན་ཆང་ཛ་ཞིག་པ་ལྟར་
འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

713 The earthen pot laughed on seeing the village. (When a thing cannot be found when it is most needed.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༧༡༤ ཡུལ་གྱི་ནས་ལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཕབ། ཡུལ་གཅིག་པའི་མག་པ་མནའ་མ་ལེན་ཟེར།

714 A local hop for local barley (i.e. a man or woman must marry someone in the locality).

༧༡༥ ཡོང་ཙ་ན་སྒོ་དཀར་ཁུང་ཚང་མ་ནས་ཡོང་འདུག། ཆ་ཙ་ན་སྒོ་དཀར་ཁུང་ཚང་མ་ནས་ཆ་འདུག།
ནོར་འཕྱོར་བ་དང་ཚར་བའི་དཔེ་ཡིན།

715 When anything comes, it comes through every door and window; when anything goes, it goes through every door and window. (Apropos prosperity and loss of wealth.)

༧༡༦ ཡོད་དེ་མི་དྲན། མེད་དེ་དྲན། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཅན་གྱི་མི་ཡོད་དུས་མི་དྲན་མེད་དུས་དྲན་ཟེར།

716 Ungrateful when he is with you, and when he is absent you remember him.

༧༡༧ ཡོད་ན་ཡུལ་བཤིག། མེད་ན་ཡུལ་སྟོང་། མི་འཁྲུག་སྐྱུལ་ཡོད་ན་གནོད། མེད་ན་སྟོང་པ་
ཚོར་ཟེར།

717 When he was present, he disturbed the village, and when he was absent the village was empty. (Of a crafty man who disturbs the peace of a village.)

༧༡༨ ཡོད་པའི་ཇོ་མོ། མེད་པའི་སྐྱ་མོ། ཕན་ཅན་ཞིག་བཤིག་ནས་ཕན་མེད་པར་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

718 A useful nun became a useless lay woman. (When a person destroys a useful article.)

༧༡༩ ཡོན་ཏན་པ་དང་གསེར་འཚོང་པ། གསེར་འཚོང་པ་ལྟར་ཡོན་ཏན་པ་ལ་གར་ཡང་རིན་ཐང་
ཟེར།

719 An educated man is like a trader in gold.

༧༢༠ ཡོན་བདག་འདོད་ན་རན་ཐག་རྡོ་རྡོག་ (ཆོན་ལ)། བདག་པོ་འདོད་ན་ཆོན་ལ་འཐག་འཇུག་
ཟེར།

720 If the owner so desires, he can make you grind flour for nothing.

༧༢༡ ཡོད་པ་བརྒྱ། མེད་པ་སྟོང་། ནོར་མེད་མང་པོ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

721 A hundred who have possessions, and a thousand who have none.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༧༢༢ གཡག་བཤུས་ཏེ་རྔ་མ་ལ་འཁད། ལས་ཅུང་ཟད་ཅིག་མ་ཚར་བར་འཕོར་ན་ཟེར།

722 When skinning the yak, the hide got caught at the tail (i.e. breaking off work just as it is being completed).

༧༢༣ གཡོག་ངན་པས་དཔོན་འདྲུད། གཡོག་པོ་ངན་པས་དཔོན་པོ་ལ་ཁྲེལ་བ་འཁྱོང་ཇོ་ཟེར།

723 The wicked servant dragged his master down. (When a servant brought disgrace upon his master.)

༧༢༤ ཡུལ་དགུ་འགྲིམ་སྟེ། ཆུ་དགུ་འཐུང་མཁན། ཡུལ་མང་མཐོང་བའི་མི་གཡོ་སྒྱུ་ཅན་ལ་ཟེར།

724 He wandered in nine countries and drank in nine rivers. (Of a man who through travel becomes cunning and crafty.)

༧༢༥ ཡོས་ཟ་ཕྱེ་འགམ་འཚོལ་བ་ཡིན། དེ་འདྲ་བའི་ཚལ་འཛེར་མི་ཆོད་ཟེར།

725 It is useless to eat parched grain or flour. (Advice to exercise economy.)

༧༢༦ ཡར་ལ་བྲ་མར་ལ་སོ་ག། ཕན་ཚུན་གཉིས་ལ་འཛིང་ན་ཟེར།

726 He kicks on the right side and bites on the left. (Of the person who is always and everywhere quarrelling with people.)

ར

༧༢༧ ར་མ་བརྒྱ་ཟོས་པའི་ར་སུལ་ཁན། དབང་གིས་ར་བརྒྱ་ཟོས་པའི་མི་ཡིན་ཟེར།

727 Rasulkhan who ate a hundred goats. (Of a man who robs others by force.)

༧༢༨ ར་ཤ་ཟོས་ཏེ་ར་ཁུ་མ་འཐུང་། ར་ཤའི་ཁུ་བ་དང་ཞག་མང་བས་མ་འཐུང་ཟེར།

728 Don't drink broth from a goat after you have eaten its flesh (i.e. the fat and the flesh of a goat eaten together are too rich for one).

༧༢༩ ར་མ་ནག་པོའི་ཤི་སྐལ། འབེ་ད་ནག་པོའི་ཟ་སྐལ། གཅིག་ལ་གཞན་གྱི་ནོར་ཆེན་ལ་ཐོབ་ན་ཟེར།

729 It is the lot of the black goat to die, and musicians to eat it.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༧༣༠ ར་རེས་ལ་བ་རེས། ར་རེས་དང་བ་རེས་འཁོར་གྱིན་སྐྱིབ་པ་ལྟར། སྡུག་བསྔལ་གྱི་རེས་ཡང་སྐྱིབ་འོང་ཟེར།

730 Turn by turn the goats and the cows must be grazed (i.e. 'misery comes in due course to each of us, so don't rebuke me').

༧༣༡ ར་སྐྱེས་ལ་རི་གུའི་སྐྱུག་ལྡད། ཆེ་མི་ལ་ཆུང་བས་ཁ་ཏ་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

731 The kid taught the he-goat to chew the cud. (When a child or ignorant person attempts to correct his elders.)

༧༣༢ རང་འཁུར་རང་ལང་། ཡ་རོ་མེད་པར་གཅིག་པོས་ལས་ཚང་མ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

732 To rise up and carry oneself. (When a man has to do work unaided.)

༧༣༣ རང་ཟོས་ཏེ་རང་ཤི་མཁན། མི་དྲན་པོ་གཞན་ལ་ཁ་ཟས་མི་སྟེར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

733 To eat one's own food, and die alone. (A miserly man.)

༧༣༤ རང་སྟོད་མ་གཏང་ན་སངས་མི་རྒྱས། རང་གིས་ལས་བཟང་བྱས་པ་བཤད་ན་ཟེར།

734 Unless you praise yourself, you cannot attain Buddhahood.

༧༣༥ རང་གི་མགོའི་ཐལ་རྒྱབ་པོ་སྤྲུག། གཞན་ལ་བསྟབ་བྱ་མ་བཏང་བར་རང་སྒྲུན་དེ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཚོས་ཟེར།

735 Shake off the dust from your own head.

༧༣༦ རང་གི་སྐྲ་རང་གིས་འབྲེག་མི་ཉན། རང་ཐོག་ལྷུང་དུས་སུ་ཤེས་མཁན་ལའང་བར་དོ་འཛུང་མཁན་སེལ་མི་རྒྱུས་ཟེར།

736 You cannot shave the hair from your own head (i.e. you need others to help you when you are in trouble).

༧༣༧ རང་ཐོག་ལ་ལྷུང་ཙ་ན་སུས་ཀྱང་མི་ཤེས། རང་ལ་སྡུག་བསྔལ་དུས་ཡཁས་པའང་མི་ཤེས་ཡཁན་དུ་འགྱུར་རོ།

737 When troubles fall upon your head then you become as one who knows nothing.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༧༣༨ རང་སྐྱོན་ཕད་གང་བོར་ཏེ། མི་སྐྱོན་སྒྱེ་གང་ལ་ཁྲོལ་ཅེས། རང་སྐྱོན་མང་བས་ཆུང་བ་ལ་ཁྲོལ་ན་ཟེར།

738 To expose a bagful of faults in another, whilst having a sackful of one's own faults.

༧༣༩ རང་བེར་རང་ལ་གནོད། རང་གི་བེར་ཀ་གཞན་གྱིས་ཐོགས་ནས་བདག་པོ་རང་ལ་རྒྱབ་ན་ཟེར།

739 One's own stick injures one. (When a man is beaten by others with his own stick.)

༧༤༠ རང་གདོང་མ་མཐོང་ང། མི་གདོང་ལ་ལྟད་མོ། རང་གདོང་བརྗེད་དེ་གཞན་གདོང་ལ་ཁྲོལ་ན་ཟེར།

740 To make another a laughing stock, whilst not seeing one's own face.

༧༤༡ རང་དོན་འགྲུབ་ན་ཆ་ལུགས་ངན་ནའང་ངན། རང་དོན་འགྲུབ་ན་མིས་ཅི་ཟེར་ནའང་འགྲིག་ཟེར།

741 So long as one fulfils one's purpose, it matters not whether the method is a bad one.

༧༤༢ རང་ཕྲུག་ལ་ལོག་པར་བཙོ་མཁན་སུ་ཡོང་ཡིན། ངས་ཁྱོད་ལ་ལོག་པར་མི་བྱ་ཟེར་བའི་ཚེ་ཟེར།

742 Who will deal treacherously with his own child? (When a man expresses friendship with another.)

༧༤༣ རང་ཟ་ན་བྲང་འཚིག། མི་ཟ་ན་སྙིང་འཚིག། རང་ཡང་མི་ཟ་གཞན་ལ་ཡང་ཟ་འཇུག་མི་ཐོད་ཟེར།

743 If he eats alone his chest burns, if another man eats he gets heartburn. (Equivalent of 'a dog in the manger' attitude.)

༧༤༤ རང་འཐག་པ་ལ་ཕྱེ་སྣ་དགུ། ཁོ་ལ་གླ་ཕྱེ་སྣ་མང་པོ་ཐོབ་པས་ཟེར།

744 The miller has nine varieties of flour. (In Tibet wages for grinding flour are paid in kind.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༧༤༥ རང་མ་འབྱུང་ན། རྒྱ་མཚོའི་མཐའ་མ་ལ་མ་ཞིང་སྐམ། རང་ནོར་མེད་ཆ་ན་གཉེན་དྲུང་གིས་མི་ཕན་ཟེར།

745 If one should fail, the fertile field by the bank of the river will dry up (i.e. if one should fail in business, etc., friends and relatives cannot help him).

༧༤༦ རང་ཡུལ་ལ་ཇེ་ཕྲུག ། མི་ཡུལ་ལ་སྤྲང་ཕྲུག ། རང་ཡུལ་དུ་ཆེན་མོ་ཡིན་ནའང་། གཞན་ཡུལ་ལ་སྤྲང་མཁན་འདྲ་བ་འགྱུར་རོ་ཟེར།

746 A son of a lord in one's own country, and a beggar in a foreign land.

༧༤༧ རང་འགལ་ཧེ་མེད་ན། གཤིན་རྗེ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཅི་ལ་འཇིགས་ཡིན། གནོངས་མེད་ན་དམྱལ་བའི་དབང་ཡོད་མཁན་ལ་མི་འཇིགས་ཟེར།

747 If you are innocent, why then fear the judge of the dead?

༧༤༨ རང་ཤ་རང་གིས་མི་ཟ། གཅན་གཟན་གྱིས་ཀྱང་རང་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཤ་མི་ཟ་ཟེར།

748 Do not eat the flesh of your own class. (It is said that even carnivorous animals do not eat the flesh of their own kind. This means 'do not quarrel or go to law against your own family'.)

༧༤༩ རང་སེམས་མདའ་ལྟར་མ་སྲང་ན། མི་སེམས་གཞུ་ལྟར་མི་བཀུག ། རང་སེམས་མ་སྲང་བར་མི་སེམས་འགུག་མི་ནུས་ཟེར།

749 If you do not straighten your own mind as an arrow, you will not be able to bend other people's minds as you would a bow.

༧༥༠ རང་རང་ངེ་ཟུར་མོ་རང་རང་ང་ཡོད་དགོས། རང་གི་ལས་ཀྱི་ཚོར་ཀ་རང་ལ་ཡོང་དགོས་ཟེར།

750 One must feel one's own pain.

༧༥༡ རང་སྐལ་རུས་པ་ཡིན་ནའང་རྔོད། རང་སྐལ་ལ་རེན་རྩི་དགོས་ཟེར།

751 Scrape the bone if such be your lot.

༧༥༢ རང་སྐལ་རྡོ་བ་ཡིན་ནའང་མིད། རྡོན་གོང་ལྟར།

752 Swallow the stone if such be your lot.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༧༥༣ རང་སེམས་མཐེ་བོ་ཙམ་བོ་མནན་མ་ཐུབ་ན། བྲག་སྲིན་མོའི་དགྲར་ལངས། ནམ་རྟོག་བྱེད་ནི་
རང་ལ་གནོད་པ་འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

753 If you cannot subdue your thumb-sized heart, it will rise against you as a she-demon.

༧༥༤ རི་རྡོ་ཀླུངས་ལ། ཀླུངས་རྡོ་རི་ལ། དཀའ་ལས་ཆེན་མོ་ཞིག་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

754 To carry stones from the mountain to the fields, and to transport stones from the fields to the mountain. (Of one who performs a prodigious task.)

༧༥༥ རི་ལ་ཤི་ན་བྱ་རོ། ཀླུངས་ལ་ཤི་ན་ཉ་རོ། ངའི་རོ་ལ་ཉ་ར་བྱེད་མཁན་མེད་ནའང་མེད་ཟེར།

755 To die in the hills and become like a dead bird; to die in the fields and become like a dead fish. (When a man is in despair concerning the future bestowal of his corpse.)

༧༥༦ རིག་གི་བེར་ཀ་ས་ལ་རྒྱབས་པ་སྣ་ལ་འཕོག།

756 Through striking the ground with his stick, it hit his nose.

༧༥༧ རིག་པ་ནང་མོ་འཆི་ཡང་སློབ། ཡོན་ཏན་ཤི་ཙེས་ཡོད་ན་ཡང་སློབ་ཟེར།

757 Learn wisdom though you should die tomorrow. (This is also to be found in the Saskya-Legs-bshad. Buddhists think that the more you learn in this life, the better it will be in your next birth.)

༧༥༨ རིགས་ངན་ཁ་ཏའི་བུ། ཟེར་བ་ཟུགས་སེ་ཐུར་ལ། གཞོག་ག་ཟུགས་སེ་རོམ་དུ། ཙམ་བསྡབ་
བྱ་གཏང་ན་ཐུ་བར་འགྱུར་བའི་བུ་ལ་ཟེར།

758 The son of the ignoble crow became worse the more he was lectured, and the more his body was chopped the larger it became. (Of a disobedient child who grows worse the more he is lectured.)

༧༥༩ རྟུམ་རྡོ་གཅིག་མི་ཡུལ་རྡོ་གཅིག། བོད་པས་རྟུམ་ཆེན་མོ་ཡིན་བསམས་ཏྲེ་དེ་ལ་འགྲན་མི་ནུས་
ཟེར།

759 The Rum family is one weight, and the world is another (i.e. the family of Rum is prolific).

༧༦༠ རྟུལ་ཞི་ཁ་སྦལ་ཧོ་ཁག་གནོན། (སྦྲུལ་གྱི་ཁར་སྦལ་ཧོ་ཁ་གནོན) གཅིག་གི་ཁར་གཅིག་
དབང་ཙན་ཡིན་ཟེར།

760 The mongoose overpowered the snake. (Of a strong man who faces up to a stronger one than he.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༧༦༡ ང་ཕོད་ན་སྟེར་ཕོད། སློང་ཕོད་པར་སྟེར་ཡང་ཕོད་དགོས་ཟེར།

761 If I have the courage to beg, you also must have the courage to bestow.

༧༦༢ རེ་བ་ཙོ་རེ། ཁ་པག་གེ། ཐོབ་ཏུ་རེ་བ་བྱས་ཏེ་མ་ཐོབ་པས་ཁ་སྐྱེངས་ན་ཟེར།

762 Through the intensity of his hope he grew ashamed.

༧༦༣ རྩལ་པའི་ལས་པོ་སླ་སླ་རེག། གྲོད་མོ་ཆེའི་ཟས་པོ་ཞིམ་ཞིམ་རེག། རྩལ་པའི་ལས་བྱེད་
ལུགས་དང་གྲོད་པོ་ཆེའི་ཟ་ལུགས་ལ་ཟེར།

763 The work of a strong man looks easy, and the food of a glutton looks appetizing.

༧༦༤ རོ་ཡོད་སར་མ་ངུ་བ། རོ་མེད་སར་ངུ་ཅེས། ཟེར་དགོས་སར་མ་ཟེར་བར། ཟེར་མི་
དགོས་པའི་སར་ཚ་རྡོད་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

764 To weep where there is no corpse, and not to weep where there is one. (Of the person who complains about a man to someone unconcerned in the matter.)

༧༦༥ རི་བོང་ཁ་ཤུང་ཤོར་རེ། གསང་གཏམ་དང་རང་ལ་གནོད་པའི་གཏམ་གཞན་ལ་བཤད་མཁན་
ལ་ཟེར།

765 The hare hurt himself through cracking his lips. (When a person tells a secret or says something which afterwards recoils upon himself.)

༧༦༦ རོའི་མདུན་ལ་ཁ་མ་དལ། ཕངས་ཀྱི་མདུན་ལ་ལག་མ་དལ། རོའི་རྩར་མ་ཎི་འདོན་པ་དང་
ཕངས་ཀྱི་རྩར་ལས་བྱོས་ཟེར།

766 Don't let your mouth be idle when in front of a corpse, and don't let your hands be idle when you stand in front of the threshing floor (i.e. pray when before a corpse, and work at your threshing floor).

༧༦༧ རལ་འགུལ་ལ་མ་ཤེས་ནའང་། ཐག་པ་འགུལ་ལ་སུས་མི་ཤེས། ཚིག་ཟབ་མོ་ངས་མ་གོ་
ནའང་། ཚིག་གསལ་པོ་ཅི་ལ་མི་གོ་ཟེར། མིའི་བྱ་བ་ནས་གནོད་སྐྱེལ་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

767 Though one may not be aware of the moving of a hair, who is there who does not notice the moving of a rope? (i.e. it may not be easy to understand that which is profound, but anyone can understand plain speech).

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༧༦༨ སྤྲུ་ཐོག་གཅིག་ལ་གཡོ་ཐོག་གཉིས། སྤྲུ་བའི་རྩམ་པ་མི་གཅིག་འགྲང་བ་ལས་ཟན་གཡོ་ན་མི་གཉིས་འགྲང་ངོ་ཟེར།

768 One's kneading of dough is sufficient for one person, but if baked it suffices for two.

༧༦༩ རང་བཙུགས་པའི་ཟམ་པར་རང་ཐར་དགོས། རང་གིས་སྨྲས་པའམ་བྱས་པ་བཞིན་དུ་རང་ཐར་དགོས་ཟེར།

769 You must cross the bridge which you yourself have built (i.e. you must abide by the words which you have uttered).

༧༧༠ རི་རྙིང་པ་ལ་བུག་པ་སོ་མ། སྔར་ཁྲིམས་བཤིག་ནས་སོ་མ་ཞིག་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

770 A new tunnel in an old hill. (When a man breaks an old custom and introduces a new one.)

༧༧༡ རང་ལུས་ལ་དཔེ་བླངས་ནས་མི་ལ་བསླབ་བྱ། རང་དཔེར་བླངས་ནས་གཞན་ལ་ཅོས་ཟེར།

771 To give others advice whilst acting independently oneself.

༧༧༢ རང་ཇུས་ལ་རང་མཁས་པ། མི་ཇུས་ལ་དཔོན་མཁས་པ། དཔོན་གྱིས་གཞན་གྱི་མཆོད་ཁང་ལྷ་བུ་རི་མོས་རྒྱན་པ་ལྟར་རང་ལས་ཀྱི་ཇུས་ལ་རང་འདྲ་མི་འོང་ཟེར།

772 One is wise enough to achieve one's own purpose, and an artist is wise in achieving the purpose of others.

ལ

༧༧༣ ལ་སྔོན་བདེ་མོ་ལུས་ན། ཛུ་ཤག་མ་ཡིན། ལུས་ཁམས་བཟང་ལུས་ན་དངུལ་འཐད་འཐད་ཐོབ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

773 If the Sngon pass is safe, farthings are as plentiful as pebbles (i.e. if my health remains good, I shall be able to earn as much money as I want).

༧༧༤ ལ་ཨ་པས་བརྒྱབ་པ། ལ་དུགས་ཨ་མ་ལ་ཐོག། གནོད་དགོས་པ་ལ་མ་གནོད་པར་གནོད་མི་དགོས་པར་གནོད་ན་ཟེར།

774 Father crossed the pass, and mother got mountain sickness. (When a quarrel affects the wrong person.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༧༧༥ ལ་ཕུག་ཚ་བ་ལ་ལྡིན་ཏེ། སྨན་པའི་བུ་ལའང་མི་འཇུ། ལ་ཕུག་འཇུ་བར་དཀའ་ཟེར།

775 The radish being indigestible, even the son of the physician could not digest it.

༧༧༦ ལག་པ་ཟུར། སྡིག་པ་ནར། ཐོང་ཟེར་ཏེ་ལག་པ་བརྐྱང་ནས་མ་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

776 Stretching out one's hand and extenuating the evil. (When a person does not get the thing he has asked for.)

༧༧༧ ལག་པས་བཏང་སྟེ། རྐང་པ་དང་བདའ་ཅེས། བུ་ལོན་རྗོ་ད་དུ་འགྲོ་དགོས་ན་ཟེར།

777 He who gave with his hands had to chase with his feet. (Of a creditor who pursues a debtor.)

༧༧༨ ལག་པས་བཙོས་ཏེ། རྐང་པ་དང་བཤིག་ཅེས། རང་གིས་བྱས་པའི་ལས་རང་གིས་བཤིག་ན་ཟེར།

778 To achieve a thing with one's hands and destroy it with one's feet.

༧༧༩ ལག་རྩེས་དགྲ། ཁ་རྩེས་ཉེན། ལག་དང་ཁ་གཉིས་བསམས་ཏེ་མ་བཀོལ་ན་དགྲ་འཛལ་བ་དང་ཉེན་ཆེ་བའི་ནང་སླེབ་པོ་ཟེར།

779 Harmful to play with one's hands and dangerous to crack a joke (i.e. be careful when you play or joke with others).

༧༨༠ ལག་རྡུམ་བྲག་ལ། མི་འཕྲུད་མེད་ཞིག་གིས་དམ་པའི་ལས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

780 To climb a rock with maimed hands. (Of an incompetent person desiring an honourable post or position.)

༧༨༡ ལག་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་གཡོག་པོ། གཏམ་ཤེས་ཀུན་གྱི་དཔོན་པོ། ལག་ཤེས་ལས་གཏམ་ཤེས་པ་གཙོ་ཆེ་བ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

781 A craftsman is the servant of all and an eloquent person is the master of all.

༧༨༢ ལག་པ་མི་འཚིག་པའི་སྐམ་པ། བཀོལ་ལེ་ཡང་རྩེ་བྱེད་པའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

782 Pincers which prevent one's hands from being burnt. (Of children and incompetent people capable only of performing ordinary and trifling domestic tasks.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༧༨༣ ལ་མགོ་ལ་བསླེབས་ཏ་མདོར་མ་དྲན་ཅེས། ཏོག་འདོམ་པའི་ཁར་དྲན་ན་ཟེར།

783 To remember one's trousers on reaching the top of a pass.

༧༨༤ ལམ་ནོར་ན་ལོག་ཅན། དཔེ་ར་ནོར་ན་ལོག་མི་ཅན། གཏམ་བྱེད་པ་ནོར་མ་འཇུག་ཟེར།

784 Lose your way and you can return; say the wrong thing and you cannot revoke it.

༧༨༥ ལས་དང་རྐུན་མའི་རྗེས། རྐུན་མའི་རྐང་རྗེས་ལྟར་ལས་ངན་ལ་འང་རྗེས་ལུས་སོ་ཟེར།

785 The signs of one's labour and the imprint of a thief.

༧༨༦ ལས་ཀྱིས་ལས་སྟོན། ལས་ཀྱི་གོམས་ཚུད་རིམ་གྱིས་ལྷག་པར་ལེགས་པ་བྱེད་ནུས་ཟེར།

786 One's work demonstrates one's efforts.

༧༨༧ ལགས་བརྒྱ་ཐམ་པ་བས། བདེན་གཅིག་དགའ། ལེ་ལེ་བརྒྱ་ལས་བདེན་ཚིག་གཅིག་ལེགས་ཟེར།

787 One word of truth is better than a hundred affirmations.

༧༨༨ ལམ་སྟོན་མཁན་མང་པོ། རྒྱགས་ཆུ་སྒྲིག་མཁན་དཀོན་མོ། དཔེ་ར་བསྟབ་མཁན་མང་ཡང་རྟོགས་བྱེད་མཁན་ཅུང་ངུ་ཟེར།

788 Many to show you the road, but few to provide you with food for the journey.

༧༨༩ ལི་ཀྱིར་རི་སྐུ་འདྲ་པད་མའི་མེན་ཏོག ཟ་བ་ལ་རེམ་པ། ལས་ལ་འཛངས་པ། བུད་ལེགས་སྒྲོད་པ་ཆེ་བ་ལས་མི་ཆྣམ་པའི་བུད་མེད་ལ་ཟེར།

789 The idol at Likir is like a lotus flower, a powerful eater, and a lazy worker. (Of good-looking women who eat much and work little.)

༧༩༠ ལུག་གི་ཁྲོད་ལ་བེ་ཡྭ། ར་མའི་ཁྲོད་ལ་ཀྭ། ཕན་ཚུན་གཉིས་པོ་འཐད་པའི་གཏམ་བྱེད་པའི་མི་ལྕེ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

790 One who bleats amongst the sheep and cries amongst the goats. (Of a person who talks plausibly to friend and foe.)

༧༩༡ ལུག་བརྒྱ་འཚོས་དང་གཅིག་འཚོས། ལུག་རྫི་དང་སློབ་དཔོན་དང་སྐྱོག་པོར་གྲངས་མང་ཅུང་གཅིག་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

791 It's the same whether one herds one sheep or a hundred.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༧༩༢ ལུག་ལ་འབྲག་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ན། ར་ལ་ག་ཤད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད། ལུག་ལ་བལ་དང་ར་ལ་ལེ་ན་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར། ཁྱོད་ལ་ཟེར་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ན་ང་ལ་འང་བཤད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་ཟེར།

792 If there is reason to shear the sheep, there is also reason to shear the goats (i.e. if you have reason to complain against me, I too have reason to complain against you).

༧༩༣ ལས་ཀྱི་མགོ། གཏམ་གྱི་མཇུག། ལས་ལ་མགོ་ཟུག་པ་གལ་ཆེ། གཏམ་སྨྲས་པ་ལྟར་བྱེད་དགོས་གལ་ཆེ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

793 The beginning of a task and the ending of a conversation (i.e. if it is important to begin a task, it is also important to keep one's promise).

༧༩༤ ལུས་གཞོང་ཆེ་ན། ཁ་གཞོང་ཆེ། ལས་ལ་ཁྲམ་པ་བྱེད་ན། ཁ་ལ་ཡང་ཟ་རྒྱུ་མང་པོ་འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

794 If your body is active, your mouth will be active too (i.e. more work, more income).

༧༩༥ ལུས་དང་གྲིབ་མག་ (གྲིབ་མ)། འབྲལ་མེད་གཏན་དུ་འགྲོགས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

795 The body together with its shadow (i.e. these are inseparable).

༧༩༦ ལོ་བརྒྱ་བསགས་པའི་དགེ་བ་དེ། ཉིན་གཅིག་ཁོང་ཁྲོས་གཞོམ་པར་བྱ། ཟེན་མ་བྱེད་ན་ལོ་མང་བསགས་པ་དེ་ཉིན་གཅིག་ནང་སྟོར་ཡོང་ཟེར།

796 The anger of one day obliterates the virtues of a hundred years.

༧༩༧ ལོ་སྐར་ལ་བུ་སྐར། ལོ་༡༢ཆ་ན་བུ་དང་བུ་མོ་ཕ་མ་ལ་འགྱུར་ཟེང།

797 At the age of twelve, he will be surrounded by children. (Boys and girls in Tibet marry early and become parents at an early age.)

༧༩༨ ཁོག་ལམ་ཁྱིས་ཡང་ཤེས། ཇོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

798 Even a dog knows his way home.

༧༩༩ ལག་པ་ལ་ཚེར་མང་ཟུག་ན་བཏོན་ཉན། སྙིང་ལ་ཚེར་མང་ཟུག་ན་བཏོན་མི་ཉན།

799 If you have a thorn in your hand, you can extract it; but if a thorn pierces your heart, you cannot take it out.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

ཤ

༨༠༠ ཤ་བོ་ཏ་ལལ། པགས་པ་ཏ་རམ། མི་ལ་མི་དགའ་བར་དེའི་ནོར་ལ་དགའ་ན་ཟེར།

800 The flesh is lawful to eat, but it is not lawful to use the skin. (When a person hates a man, but covets his wealth.)

༨༠༡ ཤ་བཙོང་པའི་ཤ་བཙོང་བཙོང་བཙོང་ཅེས། }
ཤ་བཙོང་པའི་ཤ་འཕྱར་འཕྱར་འཕྱར་ཅེས། } གཞན་མ་ལ་རང་གི་མིའི་སྐྱོན་བཤད་ན་ཟེར།

801 To sell one as a butcher sells meat. To hang one as a butcher hangs meat. (i.e. To expose the faults of one's friends and relations to strangers.)

༨༠༢ ཤ་དང་གྲི། མི་གཉིས་ཤིན་ཏུ་མ་མཐུན་ན་ཟེར།

802 Like a piece of meat and a knife. (Of two people who hate each other intensely.)

༨༠༣ ཤ་མི་ན། རུས་ན། རང་གི་གཉེན་ལ་སྡུག་བསྔལ་འབྱུང་དུས་སུ་ཉེ་སོ་མེད་པའི་གཉེན་གྱིས་ཕྱོགས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

803 No pain in the flesh, but pain in my bones. (Here 'bones' denotes one's relatives. So this means: I have no sympathy personally, but must stand up for my kith and kin.)

༨༠༤ ཤ་ཤོ་ཐང་ཆད་པའི་ཉི་མ། དབྱར་གྱི་ཉི་མ་རིང་མོ་ལ་ཟེར།

804 A day on which even the deer gets tired (i.e. a long summer's day).

༨༠༥ ཤ་རྙིང་དུག། མར་རྙིང་སྨན། སྦལ་ཏི་དང་གར་ཞ་པས་མར་རྙིང་རྒྱུན་དུ་ཟ།

805 Stale meat is a poison and rancid butter a remedy. (Baltis and Lahaulis are particularly fond of very rancid butter.)

༨༠༦ ཤ་ཟ་རེས། པགས་པ་གོན་རེས། མི་མདའ་གཉིས་དྲག་ཏུ་རྐོལ་ན་ཟེར།

806 Their turn to eat each other's flesh and wear each other's skin. (When two people quarrel violently and sue each other in Court.)

༨༠༧ ཤ་ར་ལ་ཤ་རམ་ཅི་ཡོད། ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་བཞིན་ལབ་པའམ་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ངོ་ཚ་མེད་ཟེར།

807 What shame is there when acting according to law?

༨༠༨ ཤ་ལོག་ནས་གྲི་ལ། འབངས་ཀྱིས་ཡོག་གི་བྱ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

808 The meat turned upon the knife. (Of a subject who rebels against his master.)

ཨང་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༨༠༩ ཤཱཀྱ་མི་དཀོན་ཆ་ན། འབྲོང་ཕྲུག་མཁར་དཔོན་ལྡན། མ་རབས་དང་ཐ་མལ་པ་ཞིག་ལས་
སྣེར་སྐོ་ན་ཟེར།

809 If Sakya is short of men, the Drongprug becomes the governor. (When a man of low birth obtains a high position.)

༨༡༠ ཤི་ཁ་འབོད་ན། མི་ཁ་འབུད། ཤི་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུག་ན་མི་དེའི་མི་ཁ་འབུད་ཟེར།

810 If others announce his death prematurely, talk which would harm him is dissipated.

༨༡༡ ཤིའི་ཁ་རོབ་ནོན། ཤི་བའི་མི་ལ་རྡུང་བ་ལྟར། སྡུག་བསྡུལ་བ་ལ་འཚེ་ན་ཟེར།

811 To press down a man who is dying (i.e. aggravating a man who is already in trouble).

༨༡༢ ཤི་ཡིན་ཞིག་ཀྱང་འཐྲ། སྡོག་དང་འབྲལ་ཉེ་ཡང་དགྲར་རྒོལ་ཟེར།

812 Even whilst dying, he struggled.

༨༡༣ ཤིག་ལ་རྒྱུ་མ་རྒྱང་མཁན། མི་ཉམས་ཅན་མི་དྲན་དཔུ་དྲན་ལ་ཟེར།

813 He who fills the guts of a louse. (Of an extremely deceitful or resourceful person.)

༨༡༤ ཤིང་དྲང་པོའི་རྩ་ནས། མི་དྲང་པོའི་མགོ་ནས། ཤིང་དྲང་པོ་རྩད་ནས་གཅོད། མི་དྲང་
པོ་ལ་མགོ་སླུ་སླ་བའི་དོན་ནོ།

814 The straight tree is cut at its root and the upright man at his head (i.e. the simple man is easily deceived).

༨༡༥ ཤིག་མང་པོས་ཟ་བ་མི་ཚོར། བུ་ལོན་མང་པོ་རྩོད་པ་མི་ཚོར། ཤིག་དང་བུ་ལོན་མང་པོ་
ཡོད་པའི་མི་རྡིད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

815 One does not feel the bites of many lice, nor does one take notice of the demands to pay many debts.

༨༡༦ ཤིང་མཁན་དབུལ་ནའང་རང་འབོས། ཤིང་མཁན་ལག་དབུལ་ཀྱང་རང་གི་ཟས་སློལ་འབོས་
ཀྱི་ཤིང་ཤོག་འཐོན་ཟེར།

816 The slow carpenter has sufficient fuel for his needs.

༨༡༧ ཤུལ་ལུ་རྡོས་ཏེ་མ་འགྲུལ། གྲོད་པ་འགྲངས་ཏེ་མ་འགྲུལ། ཉེས་ལ་འགྲོ་ཙ་ན་གོས་དང་
རྒྱགས་ཤེབ་འཁུར་དགོས་ཟེར།

817 Don't go on a full stomach and don't walk when your body is warm (i.e. when going on a journey, take more food and clothes than you need when you set out).

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༨༡༨ ཤུ་བའི་ཁ་ནས་ཆུ་སེར་འཇིབ་ཅེས། མི་དབུལ་པོའི་ནོར་འཕྲོག་ན་ཟེར།

818 He sucks the pus from other people's sores. (When a person deprives a poor man of something.)

༨༡༩ ཤེ་པའི་ཁ་མགྲོན། ཁ་མ་འཕངས་སུ་མགྲོན་ལ་འབོད་ན་ཟེར།

819 The Sheh man's feast of words. (When someone calls a man to a meal with no intention of carrying out his invitation.)

༨༢༠ ཤེ་ནས་སྨན་ལྷ། འཚེམ་པོ་རྒྱང་ཅན་གཏང་ན་ཟེར།

820 From Sheh to Smanla (i.e. to sew a garment in a haphazard fashion).

༨༢༡ ཤེས་སོ་རང་ལ་ཡོད་ན། དྲི་སོ་མི་ལ། རང་གིས་ཤེས་ཀྱང་གཞན་ལ་དྲིས་ཤིག་ཟེར།

821 Though you may have knowledge, you should take counsel from someone else.

༨༢༢ ཤེས་རབ་ཅན་ཞིག་གངས་ལ་ཉི་ཤར་འདྲ། བརྩོན་འགྲུས་ཅན་ཞིག་ནགས་ལ་མེ་ཤོར་འདྲ། རིག་པ་ཅན་ལས་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་ཅན་དྲག་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

822 A wise man is like a glistening glacier, and a painstaking man is like a forest on fire.

༨༢༣ ཤེས་པའི་ནང་ནས་མི་ཤེས་པ། མི་མཁས་པ་ཕྱུགས་ན་ཟེར།

823 He who is wise and behaves unwisely.

༨༢༤ ག་ཤང་པོའི་བཙོང་རན། གླེན་པའི་ཉོ་རན། གཅང་པོའི་ཁྲམ་གྱིས་གླེན་པར་སྐྱོང་བཀལ་ན་ཟེར།

824 The time for the smart man to sell and the dunce to buy. (When an astute person sells a thing to a fool.)

༨༢༥ ག་ཤགས་མིན་པོ་ཇོས་བས་སེ། འབོད་པ་སུ་ལ་གཏང་། བླ་མ་དང་དཔོན་པོས་མི་རིགས་པ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

825 When the prince pronounces an unjust verdict, to whom shall I cry ?

༨༢༦ ག་ཤང་པོ་ཕེ་འགམས་ཏེ། གླེན་པའི་མགོ་ལ་རྒྱལ་པ། རང་སྐྱོན་མི་གཞན་ལ་འགེལ་ན་ཟེར།

826 The smart man ate the flour and placed the bag on the stupid man's head. (Of one who deceives someone to vindicate himself.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༨༢༧ ཤང་སྤྲོ་ལུག་སྤྲོ་ལ་ཟ་མཁན། ཚོད་མ་འཛིན་པར་ཟ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

827 To eat with the appetite of a wolf and a sheep.

༨༢༨ གཤོལ་གྱི་རིད་དང་རམ་པ། ཞོར་དུ་གཞན་རྩྭ་བ་ཞིག་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

828 Together with the plough there came up long grass roots.

༨༢༩ གཤང་པོའི་མདུན་བསྐུས། གླེན་པའི་རྒྱབ་བདས། གཙང་པོས་སྔོན་དུ་བྱེད་པ་དང་གླེན་པས་ཕྱིས་ནས་བྱེད་ཟེར།

829 The smart man anticipates a thing, and the stupid man follows after it.

༨༣༠ ཤེས་གཡངས་པ། མ་ཤེས་དོན་དམ། གཞན་གྱིས་མཐོང་ན་གཡེངས་པ་དང་། མ་མཐོང་ན་བརྐུས་འཁྱེར་བའི་ཐབས་ལ་ཟེར།

830 If he is found out, he pretends it is a joke; and if not, he actually commits the deed.

༨༣༡ ཤིང་གས་མཁན་གྱི་བར་ལ་ལག་པ། གནོད་པའི་ནང་ལ་འཛིས་ན་ཟེར།

831 To have one's hand caught between the chink of wood (i.e. to be entangled in a quarrel, etc.).

༨༣༢ ཤར་གྱི་ཧ་རམ་ཟ་ད་དང་ནུབ་ཀྱི་ཧ་རམ་ཟ་ད། མགོ་བསྐོར་ཅན་གཉིས་ཐུག་ན་ཟེར།

832 The impostor of the East and that of the West. (When two impostors meet.)

༨༣༣ གཤང་ཁ་འཐལ། ཚོད་ལས་འཐལ་ན་གཙང་པོ་ཡང་གནོད་ཟེར།

833 To over-reach oneself in resourcefulness. (Of a cunning person who through his craftiness brings trouble and sorrow upon himself.)

༨༣༤ གཤིན་པོའི་ཁ་མ་སྣང་ན། གསོན་པོའི་ཚེ་མི་ཐེད། ཤི་བའི་དོན་དུ་ཚོ་ག་དང་དགེ་བ་མ་བཏང་ན། གསོན་པོ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་དེའི་ནོར་ཐོབ་པས་ཚེ་མི་ཕྱིད་ཟེར།

834 If you do not close the mouth of the dead, he who is alive will not get a livelihood (i.e. if one does not perform the necessary funeral ceremonies, one will not be able to subsist on the belongings and property of the deceased).

༨༣༥ ཤའི་ཁ་མར་རྒྱག། དབུལ་པོ་ནས་ཕྱུག་པོ་ལ་ནོར་ཐོབ་ན་ཟེར།

835 To heap butter on the flesh. (When a rich man gets a poor man's property.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

ས

༨༣༦ ས་དང་སོ་ནམ་ནམ་ཟླས་མི་ཁྲེལ་བ་ཞིག ། ཆོས་རང་སེམས་ཀྱིས་མི་ཁྲེལ་བ་ཞིག ། ཞིང་ལས་དང་ཆོས་བྱེད་པའི་དཔེ་ཡིན།

836 Your agricultural efforts must be such that the season can't blame you, and your faith such that one's conscience does not blame you.

༨༣༧ ས་ངན་གྱི་གད་པ་རྡིབ་ན་རྒྱལ། མི་ཕན་པའི་ནད་པ་ཤི་ན་རྒྱལ། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

837 Better that the bad soil of the cliff should crumble, and better that the incurable patient should die.

༨༣༨ ས་མེ་བཏུག་མཁན། ཕག་ནས་གནོད་པ་སྐྱེལ་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

838 To light a fire beneath the earth. (In times of war men blow up their enemies with land mines or dynamite, etc. Thus this means 'to do someone an injury by stealth'.)

༨༣༩ ས་བི་ཞིག་ཐར་ཆག་གི་ཁར་འཛོན་ན་ཙོགས། ཕོ་སོ་བྱེད་ཀྱིན་ཀྱིད་ཀྱིད་ལ་འགྱུལ་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

839 Like a mouse mounting a broken tray. (Of a foolish man who boasts.)

༨༤༠ ས་བི་ཞིག་གི་སྲོག་དང་ཚ་རྡུག། བི་ལ་གཡངས་པ་ཡོང་འདུག། གཅིག་ལ་བར་དོ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་གཞན་གྱིས་འཚོག་པ་སྡིག་ན་ཟེར།

840 The mouse loses his life and the cat enjoys the fun. (When making fun of a man in trouble.)

༨༤༡ ས་འཇམ་གྱིས་ཆུ་བཀག། མི་འཇམ་གྱིས་མི་བཀོལ། ཁ་འཇམ་པོས་མི་བཀོལ་ཐུབ་པོ་ཟེར།

841 The fine earth blocks the water and a gentle person makes use of others. (Equivalent to: A gentle word turns away wrath.)

༨༤༢ ས་ལ་སྐྱ་རེ་སྔོ་རེ། མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་རེ་སྡུག་རེ། སྔོ་སྐྱ་ཐྲེལ་མ་ལྷུར། སྐྱིད་སྡུག་ཀྱང་།

842 The soil becomes gray and green by turns, and a man is happy and miserable by turns.

༨༤༣ ས་ལ་འདུག་ཡོང་མེད་པ། གནམ་ལ་ཐལ་རྒྱབ། ལས་སྣེ་ཞིག་ཐོབ་མ་ཐག་ཏུ་ཧྲི་ཞིངས་བརྡོན་པའི་མི་ཕོ་སོ་ཙན་ལ་ཟེར།

843 Hardly had he sat down before a cloud of dust rose in the sky. (Of a man who causes trouble to one who has only recently obtained a good post.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༨༤༤ ས་རུལ་ལུད། ལུད་རུལ་ས། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

844 Rotten soil becomes manure and rotten manure becomes earth.

༨༤༥ སངས་རྒྱས་ལ་དམྱལ་བ་དྲིན་ཅན། དམྱལ་བ་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་དྲིན་ཅན། སངས་རྒྱས་ལ་དམྱལ་བ་མེད་པར་སྙིང་རྗེ་སྒོམ་ཐབས་མེད་པ་ལྟར། དམྱལ་བ་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་མ་སྒོམ་པར་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐབས་མེད་དོ་སེམས་པས། མི་ཆེན་ལ་མི་ཆུང་དྲིན་ཅན་ཡིན་ཟེར།

845 Hell is merciful to the Buddha and the Buddha is kind to hell. (Unless there were a hell, there would be nothing to which the Buddha could be gracious. Likewise those in hell have the Buddha to show them the way of escape. So this saying means that all beings, high or low, are dependent upon each other.)

༨༤༦ སིན་ཏིག་གི་ཚངས་སིན་ཏིག་གིས་སློང་འདུག། རང་གི་མིའི་སྐྱོན་འཐིང་ན་ཟེར།

846 Sintig the bird explores his own nest. (When a man finds fault with his own kith and kin.)

༨༤༧ སུ་ཁུས་བསགས་པ་མུ་ཁུའི་རྒྱན། བོད་རིས་བསགས་པ་བླ་མའི་རྒྱན། སྤྱི་བོའི་ནོར་བླ་མ་ལ་ཐོབ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

847 That which Suku collected, was used by Muku; and what the laymen collected, the lamas received. (When lamas obtain food, etc. from laymen.)

༨༤༨ སུ་རྒྱལ་ལ། རང་རྒྱལ་ལ། རང་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་ན་གཞན་མས་ཀྱང་བཟང་པོ་བྱེད་ཟེར།

848 Who is good? I myself am good (i.e. if a man is honest and good, others will also regard him as a good man).

༨༤༩ སེང་གེ་ནད་ཀྱིས་སྐྱུམ། སེང་གེ་སང་ནད་རིམ་པ་ཡིན། མི་རིམ་པ་ནད་ཀྱིས་སྐྱུམ་ཟེར།

849 The lion was reduced through disease.

༨༥༠ སེམས་བཏད་དེ། བློ་རྐུ་ཅེས། སྙིང་བཏད་མཁན་ལ་ངན་པོ་མ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

850 To steal the mind of him who trusts you.

༨༥༡ སེམས་ལ་འཁོར་ན་དུག། ཁ་ལ་ལེན་ན་སྨན། རང་སྐྱོན་གསང་བ་བས་བཤད་ན་ལེགས་ཟེར།

851 If you keep a thing in your heart, it is poison; but if you confess it, it is a remedy.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༨༥༢ སེམས་ངན་པོ་མགྱོགས། དུར་རྐྱགས་པོ་འགོར། ཟ་ཅེས་གཏོང་དུ་འགོར་ནས་ཁྲོས་ན་ ཟེར།

852 The evil spirit was in a hurry, and the food for the grave was late. (When a quarrel arises over the lateness of a meal.)

༨༥༣ སོ་ཁྲག་ནང་ལ་འཇིབས་ཏེ། སྐ་རགས་ཆག་བསྡམས་ཏེ་ནང་ཆེད་དགོས། ནང་ཆེད་དུ་ སྡུགས་རི་སྡོམ་དགོས་ཟེར།

853 One must suck the blood from one's teeth and tighten up one's waistband to prepare a home (i.e. must work hard and suffer much to obtain a livelihood).

༨༥༤ སོ་བ་ནས་ཀྱི་འཛེ་པོ། དཀྱུལ་བ་ཅན་མིའི་འཛེ་པོ། ནོར་མེད་ལ་ནག་ནག་བྱེད་པ་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

854 The grain of shelled barley is ugly, and the poor are ugly in the sight of men. (When a man is despised because he is poor.)

༨༥༥ སོ་སོའི་ཡུལ་ལ་སོ་སོ་རིན་ཅན། མདའ་དང་ཧ་ནུ་ལ་འབྲོག་པ་རིན་ཅན།

855 One is respected in one's own country; in Da and Hanu villages, the Dards are respected.

༨༥༦ གསང་ཅེས་ལ་རང་མཁས་པ། བཤད་ཅེས་ལ་མི་མཁས་པ། གསང་གཏམ་གསངས་ཏེ་མི་ ཤུས་ཟེར།

856 Oneself is clever in concealing one's secret, whilst others are skilful in talking about them.

༨༥༧ གསེར་མགར་རི་བརྒྱ། མགར་རའི་གཅིག། གཞན་གྱི་གཏམ་མང་བ་དེ་ཚིག་གཅིག་གིས་ བཅག་ན་ཟེར།

857 A hundred goldsmiths and one blacksmith (i.e. the hammering of one blacksmith is more effective than the hammering of a hundred goldsmiths) (i.e. the clinching of an argument by an apposite phrase).

༨༥༨ གསེར་ཐོ་ཡན། ཡན་པོ་ཐལ་བ། འཚོང་ལ་ཏ་ཡོག་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

858 Gold into chalk and chalk into dust. (When a man goes bankrupt.)

༨༥༩ གསེར་ཚོར་ཏེ། གསེར་སྣོག་མ་ཚོར། ནོར་ཐོབ་ནས་སྡོད་མ་ཐོབ་ཟེར།

859 He obtained some gold, but had no purse to keep it in.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༨༦༠ གསོན་ན་ཁ་གཅིག། ཤི་ན་དུར་གཅིག། རིགས་གཅིག་པའམ་སྤུན་ཡིན་ཟེར།

860 They who are alive share one cup, and they who are dead share one cemetery.

༨༦༡ གསོལ་དཔོན་མར་ཁུའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ཤི་ན་དམྱལ་བའི་གཏིང་རྡོ། གསོལ་དཔོན་གྱིས་བརྐུས་ཏེ་མང་པོ་ཟ་ཟེར།

861 The cook is in the sea of liquid butter; but if he dies, he will, like an anchor, go to the depths of hell. (Of a cook who steals.)

༨༦༢ བསགས་པའི་ནོར་ལ་སྤུར་ཐོབ་བར་ཆད། ཤི་དུས་དེའི་ནོར་ལ་སྤུར་ཐོབ་གཏང་ངོ་ཟེར།

862 The scramble to get hold of his pile of wealth.

༨༦༣ བསགས་པའི་ནོར་མེད་ནའང་། ཟོས་པའི་ཚིལ་ལུ་ཡོད། ནོར་མ་བསག་པར་ཞིམ་པོ་ཟོས་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར།

863 Though I have not accumulated wealth, yet I have eaten fat (i.e. I am not wealthy, but possess physical strength).

༨༦༤ བསམ་ཉན་མེད་པའི་མི་རྒྱགས་པ། ཞོན་ཉན་མེད་པའི་རྟ་རྒྱགས་པ། བསམ་མེད་ཀྱི་མི་རྒྱགས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

864 He is fat who cannot think; the horse is fat upon which no one can ride.

༨༦༥ བསམ་པས་རི་བཀུག། གཡོག་སྟེ་པང་ཟད། ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ཧམ་ཞེང་ཟ་རྒྱུ་མེད་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ལ་ཟེར།

865 Through his imagination he brought the mountain to him, but meanwhile the place where he sat crumbled away (i.e. of one who is ambitious).

༨༦༦ བསམ་ངན་གྱི་ཆོས་བཤད་ཅེས་སང་། སེམས་བཟང་གི་གླུ་གཏང་ཅེས་རྒྱལ། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

866 Better to sing with a good heart than to preach religion with an evil mind.

༨༦༧ བསམ་པ་སྔོན་ལ་མ་གཏང་ན། འགྱོད་པ་རྟིང་ལ། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

867 If you do not think beforehand, you will regret it afterwards.

༨༦༨ བསོད་བདེ་དང་ཟ་ཕོར་ཆེ་ན་རྒྱལ། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

868 Better that one's fortune and one's cup should be large. (When a person uses a large cup to drink out of.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༨༦༩ བསོད་བདེ་ལ་མེད་ན། རྐྱལ་བུ་ལ་ཅི་རྐྱང་ཡིན། ནོར་མི་འཚོར་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

869 If there is nothing in my luck, then what shall I put in my bag?

༨༧༠ སྲང་གི་བལ་ལྷུད། ཀྲང་པར་འབྲང་བའི་བལ་ལྷུད་ལྟར་སྲང་ལ་མིའི་ཕྱི་བཞིན་འབྲང་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

870 The rotten wool in the street. (Of a loose person.)

༨༧༡ སྲང་ས་མགོ་ལ་གོན་མཁན། ཁྲེལ་བའི་ལས་བྱེད་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

871 He who places the dust of the street on his head. (Of a man who consciously brings disgrace upon himself.)

༨༧༢ སྲན་མ་མ་ཐུབ་པ་ཆག་ཙོ། དབང་ཅན་ལ་མ་ནྡོ་བར་དབང་མེད་ལ་ནྡོ་ན་ཟེར།

872 He could not contend with a pea, but only with the oats. (Of one who cannot contend with a stronger man, but fights with a weaker person.)

༨༧༣ སྲན་སྲན་པའི་སྲན་ཟན། མང་དུ་བསྲན་ནས་ཐོབ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

873 This is the meal which I have endured for a long time. (When a man is fully recompensed for his deeds.)

༨༧༤ སྲག་པ་མ་ཐུབ་པ་སྣམ་སྲག། མ་ཐོབ་གོང་དུ་ཐོབ་པ་ལྟར་གྲལ་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

874 To make a pouch before catching the partridge.

༨༧༥ སྲག་པ་ལ་འཇིགས་ཏེ་ཕ་ཡུལ་འཕང་ཅེས། མི་ཅོལ་ཆུང་ལ་འཇིགས་ཏེ་འབྲོས་སྐབས་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

875 To abandon one's home for fear of a partridge. (Of a timid man who runs away from responsibility for no adequate reason.)

༨༧༦ སླང་ངའི་ནང་ནས་འཕར་ཏེ། ཚག་མའི་ནང་ནས་འཛག་མཁན། ཅིའང་མི་ཕན་པའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར།

876 To splash from a frying pan and be sifted through a sieve. (Of a good-for-nothing person.)

༨༧༧ སློང་ཁ་འཁྱེར། ཟས་ཞིམ་པ་ཐོབ་ཏུ་ཁང་པ་མང་པོ་ལ་འཁོར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

877 Take away the mouth accustomed to beg. (Of a man who continually goes from house to house begging.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༨༧༨ སྣང་ཙན་གྱི་ཁ་ནས་ཡོས་ཙན་འཕར་ཅེས། ཇོན་མེད་དུ་འབར་ན་ཟེར།

878 The grain which jumps in the hot frying pan. (Of a man who gets abusive and finally consents to a proposal or plan.)

༨༧༩ བསླངས་པའི་དར་ར་ལ་ཁྱི་རྐུན་ཞུགས། གཉེར་ཁྱོངས་པ་དེ་ཡང་སྟོར་ན་ཟེར།

879 The dog stole the butter milk which was obtained through begging. (When a person loses a thing for which he begged.)

༨༨༠ སྤྲང་མཁན་རྒྱགས་པ་གཡང་ལ། མི་ནོར་མེད་ལ་ནོར་བྱུང་ནས་ཕོ་སོ་བྱེད་པའི་སྒོ་ནས་ཡལ་ན་ཟེར།

880 When the beggar grew fat, he fell down headlong.

༨༨༡ བསགས་པ་ལོ་དགུ། དགོས་པ་ཞག་གཅིག།

881 That which he collected in nine years, he required for one day.

ཧ

༨༨༢ ཧ་སོ་ར་ནས་བ། བ་ལ་བེའུ། བེའུ་ལ་ཁོལ་ཐག། ལས་ཅིག་མ་གྲུབ་པར་གྲུབ་མཁན་ལྟར་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

882 A cow from Hasora (Gilgit), a calf from the cow, and a collar for the calf. (Of one who contemplates a thing which he has not got.)

༨༨༣ ཧ་རི་ནམ་ཟླ་ལོག་ན། མགོའི་སང་པུག་མོ་མཐོ་བ། དུས་མགོ་ལོག་ཆ་ན། ཡ་རབས་ལས་མ་རབས་མཐོ་སར་སླེབ་པོ་ཟེར།

883 When times change, the knees will be higher than the head (i.e. when times change, the low-born will take precedence over people of noble birth).

༨༨༤ ཧ་མ་གོ་བར་མགོ་ཀྱོག་ཀྱོག། མ་གོ་ནའང་གོ་མདོག་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

884 Not understanding anything he bent his head (i.e. as if in assent).

༨༨༥ ཧུང་ཕད་མེད་མཁན། ཁ་ནས་སྒྲ་རྒྱུ་མེད་མཁན་ལ་ཟེར།

885 One who has nothing to say.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༨༨༦ ཧག་ཟེར་པ་ཐུ། གཅིག་གིས་ཁ་ངན་ཟེར་ན། དེ་ལས་ཐུ་བའི་ལན་འབྱུང་ངོ་ཟེར།

886 One made the noise of spitting and the other spat at him. (Of a couple of quarrelsome people.)

༨༨༧ ཧན་འདྲང་ལྕང་མ་དགོད། དོན་མེད་ལ་དགོད་ན་ཟེར།

887 The idiot laughs at the willow tree. (Of one who laughs without understanding what he is laughing at.)

༨༨༨ ཧབ་པོ་ལ་ལྷ་ལྷ་རྡུབ་པོ་བུད། ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ལ་ཧམ་ཅས་ནས་ཆུང་བ་ཡང་མ་ཐོབ་ན་ཟེར།

888 In taking a mouthful he lost even a gulp.

༨༨༩ ཧལ་མ་འཕེར། རྡོ་མིན་ཤིང་མིན། བཟང་ངན་གྱི་དབྱེ་བ་མི་ཤེས་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

889 Neither one thing nor another, neither stone nor wood. (Of one who cannot discriminate between good or bad people or things.)

༨༩༠ ལྷ་མ་མགྱོགས་ས་འདྲེ་མགྱོགས། མི་ཆེ་བ་ལས་སྔོན་དུ་ཆུང་བས་ཁ་ཟས་འདྲ་བ་ཟ་ན་ཟེར།

890 The devil was quicker than the gods. (When underlings eat their food before their superiors begin theirs.)

༨༩༡ ལྷ་སོ་མའི་སང་འདྲེ་རྙིང་པ་རྒྱལ། དཔོན་པོ་སོ་མའི་སང་རྙིང་པ་རྒྱལ་ཟེར།

891 An old devil is better than a new god. (An experienced official though bad is better than an inexperienced one.)

༨༩༢ ལྷ་ཞིག་མཚར་དགོས། མི་ཞིག་དྲང་དགོས། དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་དགོས་ཟེར།

892 A god must be glorious and a man must be honest.

༨༩༣ ལྷག་ན་ཆུ་ཆད་ན་གསེར། ལྷག་ན་སྣང་མེད་དང་། ཆད་ན་སྣང་ཅན་བྱེད་ན་ཟེར།

893 When there was ample food, it was treated like water, and when there was a scarcity, it was regarded like gold.

ཨ

༨༩༤ ཨ་ཀས་ཆ་ན་མར་ལ་ཐོག ཤིང་མེད་ན་སྐམ་ཤག་ཕུས། ཨ་ཀས་ཆ་ན་འཚོགས་འདོད་ཕྱུས་པ་དེ་སྐྱག་དགོས་འབྱུང་ཟེར།

894 If there is no one to help you, eat butter; and if there are no trees, burn dry wood. (If you are in great need, use the butter you have put by for the future and burn the wood which you have stored for burning your corpse.)

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༨༩༥ ཨ་ཪོ་ནས་ཡོང་ཟ་ན་ཚོང་པ། ཨེ་ཪོ་ནས་ཆ་ཟ་ན་སྟོང་པ། ཚོང་པ་ཞིག་ལ་ནོར་ཚང་མ་ལ་དགས་ལ་ཚར་ཏེ་ལོག་ཙ་ན་འདི་ཟེར།

895 From there he came as a trader and from here he went empty-handed. (Of a man who spends all his earnings and returns home empty-handed.)

༨༩༦ ཨ་པའི་རེས་དང་རྒྱལ་བུའི་རེས། རྒྱལ་བུ་ས་ལ་རྡབ་རེས་རེད། ཕར་ལན་སློར་དབྱུ་ཟེར། བྱེ་ཡོད་དབྱུ་རྒྱལ་པ་རྒྱབ་ཏུ་འཇོགས། དེའི་ནང་བྱེ་མེད་པ་དང་ཕ་ཕོང་ལ་རྡབ།

896 It is now the turn of father and his leather bag. His turn to throw down the leather bag. (When a man expresses his desire for revenge.)

༨༩༧ ཨ་ཆེ་རྗེ་རྗེའི་འགྲུལ་བཟོ་ལ་ལྟ་ལྟ། བོ་མོ་ང་རང་གི་འགྲུལ་བཟོ་ཡང་བཞིག། དགེ་པ་ཞིག་གི་དཔེ་བྱུས་ནས་རང་གི་དེ་ཡང་རྗེད་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

897 Through watching the way in which the elderly lady walked, I myself forgot how to walk.

༨༩༨ ཨ་ནེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཨ་གུ། རོམ་ཁང་གི་ཁ་ལེབ། བྱན་ཆེན་ཅན་ཆུང་རྒྱུན་དུ་འཁྲབ་པའི་སྐོ་ནས་ཨ་གུ་ཆོར་ཀས་ཞིའོ་ཟེར།

898 The husband of two wives is like the cover of a grave. (When a man marries two wives.)

༨༩༩ ཨ་བ་ལ་སྦྲུལ་གྱིས་འཐམས་པ། བུ་ཐག་པ་ཁྲ་བོ་ལ་འཇིགས། སྔོན་གྱི་ཉིད་པ་འཁྱུར་བ་ལ་ཟེར།

899 Father was bitten by a snake, and his son was afraid at the mixed coloured rope. (Equivalent to 'once bitten, twice shy'.)

༩༠༠ ཨ་བ་ཅི་ཟ་དང་ཨ་མ་ཅི་གོན། ཕྲུ་གུ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པའི་ཕ་མ་ལ་དེ་ལྟར་གཏང་དགོས་སོ་ཟེར།

900 Father, what shall I eat ? Mother, what shall I wear ? (Of parents who have many children.)

༩༠༡ ཨ་བ་ཤི་ཡིན་བསམ་པ་ཡིན་ན། རྟ་རྒན་ཞིག་ལ་ཅི་ལ་མ་བཙོང་ངས། སྔོན་སྔོན་ལ་མ་ཤེས་པར་ཕྱིས་སྡུ་སྡུགས་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

901 Why did I not sell father for an old horse ?

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༩༠༢ ཨ་མ་ཤི་པས། ཀུ་རྟུག་ཕོ་བཀྲ་ཤུས་ཤུས། མགོ་རི་བྱེད་པ་ཤི་ནས་ཕྲུ་གུས་རང་འདོད་བྱེད་ཅིང་རྒྱུགས་ན་ཟེར།

902 After its mother died, the colt's coat became glossy (i.e. when their parents die, children think they can do whatever they like).

༩༠༣ ཨ་མ་མེད་ན་གཉེན་མེད། བྲ་བོ་མེད་ན་བཟན་མེད། ཨ་མ་ཤི་ནས་གཉེན་མི་འཁོར་བ་ལྟར། བྲ་བོ་མེད་ན་ཟན་མེད་ཟེར།

903 When mother dies, there are no relatives; when there is no buckwheat, there is no meal.

༩༠༤ ཨམ་འཐེད་དེ་ཕུ་ལ་བཙོས། བཟན་ཡོད་མེད་པ་ལྟར་གཞན་ནོར་ཟ་ན་ཟེར།

904 To perform the act of swallowing (i.e. making away with other people's wealth).

༩༠༥ ཨ་མའི་འོ་མ། ཐོབ་ག་ཤའ་བའི་མི་ལ་ནོར་ཐོབ་ན་ཟེར།

905 Mother's milk. (When a man gets possessions which are rightly due to him.)

༩༠༦ ཨ་ཞང་འབྱུང་ན་ཚ་བོའི་དཔལ། ཚ་བོ་འབྱུང་ན་ཨ་ཞང་གི་དཔལ། གཉིས་ཀ་འབྱུང་ན་ཀུན་གྱི་དཔལ། རང་གི་ནང་ནས་མི་མགོ་ཚོད་ཅིག་འཐོན་ན་དེ་ལྟར་ཟེར།

906 If an uncle is exalted, it is his nephew's glory; if a nephew is raised to dignity, it is his uncle's glory, and if both are honoured, it is the glory of all.

༩༠༧ ཨ་བའི་དུས་ལ་བསགས། བུ་ཚའི་དུས་ལ་དགོས། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

907 In father's time riches were accumulated, but in his son's time they were needed.

MISCELLANEOUS PROVERBS.

༩༠༨ ཁས་མཛང་བཙོ་ཅེས། གྲོད་པའི་ཡི་ཆད། ཁ་ནས་མི་ཟ་ཟེར་ནས་ལྟོགས་རི་ལ་ལུས་ན་ཟེར།

908 If your mouth remains closed, your stomach will suffer disappointment.

༩༠༩ ཁྲོམ་མཐུག་འཐབ་མོས་སྟུད།

909 A fight occurred on the verge of the crowd.

༩༡༠ འཁྱགས་པ་གསང་ཡང་། མངོན་ཤུམ་འདར།

910 Though you conceal being cold, you are actually shivering.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༩༡༡ སྒྲག་ཅིག་རྒྱབས་པ། མཐོ་བ་རིག་སོང་། ཅུང་ཟད་མགོ་བསྐོར་ཐོག་པས། སྔར་ལས་དྲག་པ་སོང་ཟེར།

911 If you stumble over an obstacle, the higher you go (i.e. though you may have been deceived, subsequently the more influential you will become).

༩༡༢ རྒན་མོ་འཁྱུན་ཏེ་འཚེར། ཕྲུག་གུ་ངུས་ཏེ་འཚེར།

912 An old woman dies groaning, and the child grows up crying.

༩༡༣ སྔ་མོའི་ཙབ་ཅིབ་སང་། ཞི་ཐོག་གི་ལྟོ་རག་རྒྱལ།

913 Better the leavings of last night's supper than a very light breakfast.

༩༡༤ ངའི་ཨ་མ་ལ་འགོང་མོ་གདོན་ན་ཡོད་སུས་ཡང་མི་ཟེར།

914 No one will say, 'My mother is possessed of a devil'.

༩༡༥ ཉ་ཆུ་དང་བྲལ་མཁན་ཚོགས། སྐྱིད་པོ་སོགས་དང་འབྲལ་ན་ཟེར།

915 Like a fish out of the water. (Of a man who is separated from his friends.)

༩༡༦ སྣང་ཡང་མི་ཤེས། སྐྱུག་ཡང་མི་ཤེས། ཐེ་ཚོམ་ནང་དུ་ཅི་བྱེད་མི་ཤེས་ན་ཟེར།

916 I neither know how to go to stool nor how to vomit. (When a man is in doubt and cannot decide what to do.)

༩༡༧ མཐོ་དྲུག་ཀུན་ལ་མཛེས། ཕོ་གོས་ཀྱི་རིང་ཐུང་ལ་ཟེར།

917 A garment six spans long fits everyone. (Of the proper length of a man's garment.)

༩༡༨ སྤྲང་པོ་ལམ་ལ་མི་འཆམ། ཁྱི་ཁྱི་གཞོང་སྟོང་པ་ལ་མི་འཆམ།

918 Beggars will fight for the right of way, and dogs for an empty trough.

༩༡༩ སྤང་ཁྱི་ཐོག་ཁར་བཞག་ན། ནམ་མཁའི་སྐར་མ་ལ་ཡང་འཆང་།

919 If you put a street dog on your roof, he will paw at the stars of the sky.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༩༢༠ ཕོ་རྒོད་ཀྱང་རྒྱབ་ལ་དཔུང་ཞིག་དགོས། མོ་མཛེས་ཀྱང་པང་ལ་བུ་ཞིག་དགོས། དོན་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

920 Even a courageous man needs a supporter and a mother needs a child to nurse.

༩༢༡ ཕ་ཏ་ཨ་ལིའི་མཛོ་ཤི་པ། ཡུལ་གྱི་ནད་དག།

921 The dzo of Pata-Ali died and the disease in the village was cured.

༩༢༢ ཕྱུག་པོ་ནོར་གྱིས་མི་འགང་། རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆུ་ཡིས་མི་འགང་། མི་ཞིག་ནོར་ལ་མི་འཚོམ་པ་ལ་ཟེར།

922 Riches do not satisfy the wealthy, nor does water fill the ocean. (Of riches which cannot completely satisfy a man's longing for wealth.)

༩༢༣ བྲག་ལ་འདུག་སྟེ། བྲག་ལ་རྐྱག་པ།

923 He who rested near the rock and then polluted it. (Of a man who defiles the thing or person which helps him.)

༩༢༤ བུད་མེད་ཀྱི་གྲོས་མགོ་ར་ཡི་ལམ་སྣ། ཐལ་བའི་ལྷ་རྫས། མར་གྱི་ཉི་འོད།

924 Asking advice of a woman is akin to the leading of a goat, and offering earth as a sacrificial thing to the deity, and putting an oil lamp in the sun.

༩༢༥ དབང་ཅན་དང་ཤེད་མ་འགྲན། གྲོད་མོ་ཆེ་དང་སྡེར་མ་གཅིག། དོན་གཉིས་ཀ་དེ་ན་ཡིན།

925 Don't match your strength with the mighty, nor share the same dish with a glutton.

༩༢༦ མི་ལ་ནོར་དང་ནོར་ལ་བདག་པོ་དགོས།

926 Man needs wealth and wealth needs an owner.

༩༢༧ མི་ངན་ཞིག་ལ་རེ་བ་སྐང་། བྲག་བཟང་ཞིག་ལ་འཐམ་ན་རྒྱལ། མི་ངན་ལ་རེ་བ་བས། དཀགས་པོ་ཞིག་སྐྱོང་ན་རྒྱལ་ཟེར།

927 It is much better to climb a steep rock than to entreat a bad man.

༩༢༨ མི་ལྟོགས་དང་གནམ་འཆམ། དབུལ་པོས་ཞིང་ལས་བྱེད་དུས་གནམ་འཁོར་འབྱུང་ན་ཟེར།

928 The hungry man and bad weather meet together. (When the poor plough their fields and the weather changes.)

ཨིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༩༢༩ མི་མཉམ་ཐེའུ་ཁྲ་དང་འགྲན་ན། ནམ་མཁའ་བྱ་སྤུས་ཁེངས་པའི་ངན་ལྟས་ཡིན།

929 It is a bad omen to fill the sky with feathers when a sparrow matches his strength with a kite.

༩༣༠ མཛའ་བོས་མ་ནི་གཏང་མི་གཏང་། རྟ་རྒོད་མས་མ་ནི་འཕང་མི་འཕང་།

930 If I suffer injury, it will be through my friend; if I am thrown, it will be by my mare.

༩༣༡ རྫ་མ་དང་རྫ་མ་རྫ་ཐུག།

931 The earthen pots touched each other. (When intimate relations disagree.)

༩༣༢ ཞག་གསུམ་སྡོད་པའི་དབང་མེད་ཀྱང་། ལོ་གསུམ་སྡོད་པའི་གྲལ་སྒྲིག་དགོས།

932 Though you have no power to stay for three days, you ought to arrange to stay for three years.

༩༣༣ ཟླ་དཀར་བ་ཟླ་སྟོད། ཕ་མ་ཚང་བ་ཚེ་སྟོད།

933 The bright moon shines at the beginning of the month, and the living of parents happens at the age of youth.

༩༣༤ རང་ཡུལ་བཙོན་ཁང་ཡིན་ནའང་སྐྱིད།

934 Though one's own country is like a prison, one can enjoy oneself.

༩༣༥ རི་ཆེ་ས་ན་གཡང་ཆེ། ཁེ་ཆེ་ས་ན་ཉེན་ཆེ།

935 Where there is a high mountain there is a deep precipice—where there is great gain, there is risk of great loss.

༩༣༦ རོ་མགོ་མེད་ལ་གསོ་ཐབས་མེད།

936 You cannot bring to life a corpse without a head.

༩༣༧ མི་ལ་མིང་དང་མཚོན་ལ་ཡུ་བ།

937 As a weapon has a handle, so a man has a name.

༩༣༨ ཤིང་རྒྱལ་ལ་མར་སྐུ་ཙེས།

938 To smear butter on a noble tree (i.e. to waste good material to no purpose).

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༩༣༩ བསམ་པ་མེད་པའི་གཉིད་ལོག་ན། ཏོག་ཆུང་ཁྲོལ་ལེ་ལ་ཉི་མ་སྔས་མགོར་ཤར།

939 If you sleep without thinking, the sun shines on the pillow at Tokchung-khrole (Stok village).

༩༤༠ སྤྲོ་མི་ལ་ཡོད་ན། ཐལ་ལྷུག་རང་གི་བུ་ལ། གཞན་ཞིག་གི་ཕྱིར་སྤྲོ་ཡོངས་ཏེ་རང་ཕྲུག་ལ་རྡུང་ན་ཟེར།

940 You, being angry with another, give a blow to your child.

༩༤༡ ཟངས་འགོག་རྒྱབ་ན། བེར་འགོག་འཕོག།

941 When you threw the copper pot you were hit by a big stick.

༩༤༢ ཧ་གོ་བའི་མི་ལ་ཟེར་བདེ། ཤིང་འཛེར་པ་ཅན་ལ་འཛེགས་བདེ། ཕོ་མཁན་གྱི་མི་ལ་ཟེར་ན་ཉན་ནོ་ཟེར།

942 It is easy to speak to a person of understanding and to climb up a tree having knobs or branches.

༩༤༣ ཨ་པ་ཚྭ་ཁ་ལ་ཆ་ན། ཨ་མ་ལ་ཚྭ་དྭགས་ཅི་ཡོད།

943 If father goes to the salt mine, why should the mother worry for salt ?

༩༤༤ ཨོག་མའི་ནང་ལ་འཁད་པའི་རུས་ཟེལ་ཙོགས།

944 Like the bone which stuck in his throat.

༩༤༥ གཏམ་ངོས་ལ་སྐྲ་ལོ་རྒྱབ་ལ།

945 Speech must be conducted face to face, and the hair plaited down the back.

༩༤༦ བཟན་མ་ཕྱི་རུ་ཟོས་ནས། སྒོ་ང་ནང་དུ་གཏང་།

946 Grain is eaten outside and eggs are laid in the house.

༩༤༧ ཐབས་ལ་མཁས་ན་ཤེས་རབ་མེད་ཀྱང་མེད།

947 If one is wise in contrivance, it does not matter if one has no knowledge.

༩༤༨ རིག་པ་དྭངས་ན་ངོ་འཛུམ་ནག་ནའང་ནག།

948 To have an ugly face does not matter if he possesses clear wisdom.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༩༤༩ སྐྱིད་པོ་འབྱུང་ན་བསོད་བདེ་མེད་ཀྱང་མེད།

949 If happiness betides, fortune or luck is unnecessary.

༩༥༠ རྟ་ཤ་ཟོས་ཏེ་ཁ་མཆུ་ལོག་ནའང་ལོག།

950 Eating horseflesh, it does not much matter if the muzzle is turned inside out.

༩༥༡ རང་དོན་འགྲུབ་ན་ཆ་ལུགས་ངན་ཡང་ངན།

951 Though my methods are faulty, I have accomplished my purpose.

༩༥༢ གསེར་ས་འོག་ཏུ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། མདངས་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་ཁྱབ།

952 Although gold is under the earth, its brightness covers the sky. (The meaning is that when a man is efficient, his quality becomes known.)

༩༥༣ བཀའ་དྲིན་ལ་བསམ་ཤེས་དང་དྲིན་ལན་ལ་ངང་འཇལ།

953 To remember kindness is to return good for it.

༩༥༤ སྟེང་རྡོ་མ་རྗོན་ན་འོག་རྡོ་འཕར།

954 If the upper millstone is not heavy enough, the lower stone moves. (The meaning is that if a man cannot control his wife, she becomes proud.)

༩༥༥ རང་ངོས་ལ་རྟ་རྒྱུག་པ་མི་མཐོང་། མི་དངོས་ལ་ཤིག་རྒྱུག་པ་མཐོང་།

955 The running of a horse in front of you is not seen, but the motion of a louse in front of another is seen.

༩༥༦ ཕོ་ཟོས་ནས་མི་འཕུང་ཉལ་ན་འཕུང་།

956 A man does not become ruined by eating, but by sleeping.

༩༥༧ ཡ་རབས་ཕྱག་དང་ཞེ་ས་མཁས། མ་རབས་གཉིད་དང་གྲོད་པ་ཆེ།

957 The courteous are wise in salutation and respect, and the uncouth are full of sleep and have a big belly.

༩༥༨ དམའ་ས་འཛིན་ན་མཐོ་ས་ཐོབ།

958 If a low place is chosen, a high place is acquired.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༩༥༩ གོ་བ་མེད་པའི་གླང་ཆེན་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་ལས་དབྱུག་པ་ཆེན།

959 To a stupid elephant a club is more effective than the command of a king.

༩༦༠ ནང་བཀྲ་མ་ཤིས་ན་ཕྱིའི་དོན་མི་འགྲུབ།

960 When one's home is not blessed, one's external object is not fulfilled.

༩༦༡ བྱམས་པ་བྱེད་ན་དགྲ་ཡང་གཉེན་ལ་འགྲོ། རྩུབ་ཚོད་མ་ཟིན་བུ་ཡང་ཞེན་པ་ལོག།

961 If one does not discriminate when being harsh, even one's own son will be disgusted, but if you love your enemy, he will become your friend.

༩༦༢ མི་ངན་སྤུངས་སྡེབ་ན་བཟང་པོ་མཐའ་ལ་བུད།

962 If the wicked are -collected in a body, the good have to make their escape.

༩༦༣ ཉེས་པ་ཅན་ལ་ཉེས་པ་མ་གཏང་ན། ཡུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལ་ཉེས་པ་ཕོག།

963 If the guilty are not punished, the monarch of a country should be charged with crime.

༩༦༤ ལན་གཅིག་རྫུན་དུ་སྨྲ་བ་དེ་བདེན་པར་སྨྲ་ཡང་དོགས་པ་སྐྱེ།

964 If a lie is once told, it is not believed even if it is true; or, if one has once told a lie, he is not believed even if he tells the truth.

༩༦༥ མི་མང་རྡུབ་ན་གཡག་ཆེན་སྒྱེལ།

965 If a number of men attack a large yak, it will fall.

༩༦༦ སྐྱེ་ལུགས་གཅིག་ལ་ཤི་ལུགས་བརྒྱ།

966 Birth is of one kind, but death comes in a hundred ways.

༩༦༧ སྐུ་ཡ་རབས་ལ་སྤྱོད་པ་མ་རབས།

967 He who was of high rank was a bad character.

༩༦༨ ཟ་རྒྱུ་འཐུང་རྒྱུ་མང་ན་དགའ། ལབ་རྒྱུ་གླེང་རྒྱུ་ཉུང་ན་དགའ།

968 It is well to have much food and drink and to talk less.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༩༦༩ མང་གྲགས་ན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྙན་སྟུང་། ཉུང་གྲགས་ན་བློན་པོའི་བརྡ་མ་ཕྲོལ།

969 Much talking is shocking to the ear of the king, and speaking a little is not sufficient for the comprehension of the minister of State.

༩༧༠ མཐོན་པོ་རྒུད་ན་དར་ལས་འཇམ།

970 If the powerful become weak or indigent, they become softer than silk.

༩༧༡ མི་ངན་རེངས་ན་ཤིང་ལས་ཀྱོང་།

971 If the wicked are proud, they are harder than wood.

༩༧༢ མཐོ་བ་མཐོ་ཚད་མ་འཛིན་ན། ཉི་ཟླ་གཟའ་ཡིས་འཛིན་ཡོང་།

972 If the exalted are not satisfied with their own position, they will be seized as the sun and moon, which are seized by rahula.

༩༧༣ དམའ་བ་དམའ་ཚོད་མ་ཟིན་ན། ཉ་མོ་ལྕགས་ཀྱིས་འཛིན་ཡོང་།

973 If the lowly are discontented with their position in life, they will be caught like fish in fishing hooks (i.e. there must be a limit to humility).

༩༧༤ གཏམ་ཚེ་མེད་ནམ་མཁའི་སྟོང་ལ་ཕྱིན། མི་གནོངས་ཅན་ཞིག་གི་མགོ་ལ་འཕོག།

974 Foolish or nonsensical talk reaches the atmospheric spaces and strikes the head of a guilty man.

༩༧༥ ཐོ་བ་ལ་མཉོན་མེད་ན། ལྕགས་ལ་ཤུན་ལངས།

975 If the hammer lacks weight, the iron itself will rise. (Of those who cannot exert discipline or authority.)

༩༧༦ མི་རྐུ་བསམ་པའི་རྐུས་པའི་རྣམ་གྲངས་མེད།

976 There are instances that they, who are not believed to steal, commit theft.

༩༧༧ མཁས་པ་ཅི་ཙམ་ཐབས་བརྟུགས་ཀྱང་། བླུན་པོས་འཇུག་པའི་ལམ་མི་འགྲོ།

977 Although the prudent be destitute of means or plans, they will not take the course showed by the ignorant.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༩༧༨ ཤེས་རབ་ལྡན་པ་མགོ་བསྐོར་ཀྱང་། བྱ་བའི་ཆ་ལ་རྨོངས་མི་འགྱུར།

978 Although the wise cheat, they will not be ignorant of acting.

༩༧༩ ཐབས་ལ་མཁས་ན་ཆེན་པོ་ཡང་། བྲན་དུ་བཀོལ་བ་ག་ལ་དཀའ།

979 If one is wise in devising, there is no difficulty in employing a noble as a servant.

༩༨༠ མ་བསྐུལ་གཞན་གྱིས་མ་སྨྲས་པར། བསམ་པ་ཤེས་ན་མཁས་པ་ཡིན།

980 He is wise who foresees a thing without admonition from another.

༩༨༡ སྨྲས་ཤིང་བསྐུལ་བར་གྱུར་པ་ན། དུད་འགྲོ་ལ་ཡང་གོ་བ་སྐྱེ།

981 If explanation and admonition are needed, even animals can understand.

༩༨༢ མཁས་པ་ཡོན་ཏན་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱང་། གཞན་གྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཆུང་ངུའང་ལེན།

982 The wise accept the little learning of others, though they themselves are extremely intellectual.

༩༨༣ སྐྱེ་བོ་དམ་པ་རྒུད་ན་ཡང་། སྤྱོད་པའི་ཁྱད་པར་ལྷག་པར་མཛེས།

983 Though the men of holiness decline, they are rendered glorious by their good actions.

༩༨༤ དམ་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་སྦས་གྱུར་ཀྱང་། འཇིག་རྟེན་ཀུན་ལ་ཁྱབ་པར་གསལ།

984 Though virtuous action or doctrine is kept concealed, it lightens the whole world.

༩༨༥ སྣལ་མའི་མེ་ཏོག་ལེགས་བཀབ་ཀྱང་། དྲི་ཞིམ་ཀུན་ཏུ་ཁྱབ་པར་འགྱུར།

985 Even if fragrant flowers are covered, they diffuse sweet odour everywhere.

༩༨༦ རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་ཡུལ་ཆེ་བ་ཙམ། དམ་པ་གང་དུ་ཕྱིན་སར་བཀུར།

986 The virtuous are honoured wherever they go, but a king is great only in his country.

༩༨༧ དམ་པ་རྣམས་དང་ཕལ་པ་ལ། བྱས་པ་སྙམ་ཡང་དྲིན་མི་འདྲ།

987 Though the act done to both the virtuous and the vulgar is equal or alike, the return of kindness is different.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༩༨༨ དམ་པ་སྲོག་ལ་བབས་ན་ཡང༌། རང་བཞིན་བཟང་པོ་ག་ལ་འདོར།

988 Even if the honest meet with death, they never abandon their own nature.

༩༨༩ རྟག་ཏུ་གཞན་དོན་མི་སེམས་པ། དེ་ཡི་སྤྱོད་པ་ཕྱུགས་དང་མཚུངས།

989 The deeds of those who never think continually of the interest of others, resemble those of beasts.

༩༩༠ བཟའ་བཏུང་འབའ་ཞིག་དུད་འགྲོས་ཀྱང༌། སྒྲུབ་པར་ནུས་པ་མ་ཡིན་ནམ།

990 Eating and drinking alone can be accomplished even by beasts.

༩༩༡ ལྟོ་འགྲངས་འབའ་ཞིག་དོན་གཉེར་བ། སྤུ་མེད་པ་ཡི་ཕག་པ་ཡིན།

991 To strive after food only, is like a pig with no hair.

༩༩༢ དམ་པ་ཁྲོས་ཀྱང་བཏུད་ན་ཞི། དམན་ལ་བཏུད་ན་ལྷག་པར་རེངས།

992 The virtuous, though angry, become calm when bowed to, but fools become more proud when honoured.

༩༩༣ སྐྱེས་མཆོག་རང་གི་སྐྱོན་ལ་རྟོག། སྐྱེ་བོ་ངན་པས་གཞན་སྐྱོན་འཚོལ།

993 The good are aware of their own faults, but the wicked seek out the faults of others.

༩༩༤ དམ་པ་དུལ་བས་རང་གཞན་སྐྱོང༌། ངན་པ་རེངས་པས་རང་གཞན་སྡུག།

994 The virtuous are meek, so govern themselves and others well, but the wicked, being proud, hurt or trouble themselves and others.

༩༩༥ འབྱོར་བའི་དུས་ན་ཐམས་ཅད་གཉེན། གལ་ཏེ་རྒུད་ན་ཀུན་ཀྱང་དགྲ།

995 In prosperity all become friendly, but in poverty all become enemies.

༩༩༦ རིན་ཆེན་གླིང་དུ་རིང་ནས་འདུ། མཚོ་སྐམ་པ་ནི་སུ་ཡང་སྤོང༌།

996 All gather at a precious continent from afar, and every one avoids a dried up lake.

༩༩༧ མཁས་པ་མཁས་པའི་ནང་ན་མཛེས། བླུན་པོས་མཁས་པ་ཇི་ལྟར་གོ།

997 The wise are sufficient unto themselves; how can fools understand the wise.

རིམ་གྲངས་
Serial
Number

༩༩༨ ཁྱི་རྒན་ཀྱི་ཅོ་འདོན་པ་ན། རྒྱུ་མཚན་མེད་པར་གཞན་དག་རྒྱུག།

998 When an old dog howls, other dogs run after him without knowing why.

༩༩༩ སྐྱེ་བོ་དམ་པ་རིན་ཆེན་བཞིན། རྣམ་པ་ཀུན་ཏུ་འགྱུར་ལྡོག་མེད།

999 The upright like a precious stone never change at all.

༡༠༠༠ ཉམས་ཆུང་སྲུང་ཀྱང་ཟོན་བྱེད་ན། ཆེན་པོ་ཡིས་ཀྱང་གཞོམ་པར་དཀའ།

1000 If the humble are on their guard, it is difficult for the great to overcome them.

Paper received 15- 6-1939.
,, *published* 26-10-1942.

* * *

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.
Volume VIII, 1942.

ARTICLE No. 7.

The Epic of King Kesar of Ling.

By GEORGE N. ROERICH.

For more than a century the Kesar Epic, the heroic saga of Tibet and Mongolia, had been known to students of folklore, but up to now our knowledge of the various versions of this epic, its genesis, and its influence on the epos of Tibetan and Mongolian nomad tribes, has not advanced very far. This unsatisfactory state of affairs is mainly due to the inaccessibility of the Tibetan uplands, and the impossibility of making a survey of all the existing versions of the Tibetan epic of king Kesar of Ling. Without such a preliminary survey it is impossible to approach the intricate question of the origin of the Kesar Epic, and its date, or the problem of the Mongol versions and its translation into Mongolian. The first information about king Kesar (Geser∼Gessĕr in Mongolian) had been brought back to Europe by the explorer P. S. Pallas who gave a description of a Kesar temple (P. S. Pallas: Reisen durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reiches, 1771–1776, St. Petersburg, III, pp. 118-9; also Pallas: Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten ueber die mongolischen Voelkerschaften, St. Petersburg, 1776–1801, I, p. 224). A little later Benjamin Bergmann in his 'Nomadische Streifereien unter der Kalmucken', vol. II, Riga, 1804, pp. 205–214; vol. IV, Riga, 1805, pp. 181–214, gave the translation of two chapters (the VIII-th and the IX-th) of the Kesar Epic. E. Timkovsky, who travelled through Mongolia to Peking in 1820-1, gave a brief account of the same two chapters (Kesar's fight with the twelve-headed demon, his return to Ling, and his fight with Andalma-xan) in his 'Putešestvie v Kitai čerez Mongoliyu v 1820 i 1821 gg.', St. Petersburg, vol. I, 1824, pp. 281–297 (there exists an English translation of this work published in London in 1827 with notes by J. Klaproth). The Academician J. Klaproth published in 1823 in the 'Severniy Arkhiv' in St. Petersburg an article on Kesar-Geser, and established his identity with Kuan-ti or Kuan-yü, the hero of the well-known Chinese historical novel San-Kuo-chih. In 1839 the Academician I. J. Schmidt published a German translation of the Mongol version of the Kesar Epic printed in Peking (177 pages) in 1716 by order of the Emperor K'ang-hsi ('Die Thaten Bogda Gesser Chan's', St. Petersburg, 1839 (a reprint of this edition appeared in 1925 in the series 'Die heiligen Buecher des Nordens,' I, Berlin). This version contained the first seven chapters of the Kesar Epic, and has been recently retranslated into Russian by S. A. Kozin ('Geseriada', Moscow, 1935). An excellent analysis of the epic had been given by

W. Schott in his essay 'Ueber die Sage von Geser-Chan' in the Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie, 1851, pp. 263–295. These were the first works on the epic of king Kesar (Geser) which established the existence in Tibet and Mongolia of a voluminous epos. Already Grimm correctly pointed out that the epic must have originated among the nomad tribes of the Tibetan upland. The earliest works dealt with the Mongol version of the epic. A Tibetan version was known to exist, but very little was known about it. In 1884–1886 the well-known Russian explorer of Tibet and Mongolia, G. N. Potanin, succeeded in writing down fragments of an Amdo (North-East Tibet) version of the Kesar Epic ('Tangutsko-Tibetskaya Okraina Kitaya', St. Petersburg, 1893, vol. II, pp. 3ff.). This was followed in 1900 by the publication by the late Rev. A. H. Francke of a West Tibetan version of the epic ('Der Fruehling und Wintermythus der Kesarsage': Beitraege zur Kenntnis der vorbuddhistischen Religion Tibets und Ladakhs: Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, XV, Helsingfors).[1] We now know that the epic exists in Western Tibet (Ladak, Zangskar, Rupshu, Lahul-Garž'a, Spiti), and throughout the nomad belt of Northern Tibet, and is especially popular among the tribes of the North-East and Eastern Tibet or Kham.

The epic exists in Tibet in oral and manuscript form, and certain chapters of it exist in printed form also. The existence of a printed version of the Kesar Epic had been long denied. Sir Charles Bell in his 'The People of Tibet' (Oxford, 1928), p. 10, stated that there did not exist a printed version of it. A similar statement had been made by Madame A. David-Neel, the well-known French explorer of Tibet, who quoted the opinion of the present Chief of Ling (gLiṅ) in North-East Tibet (A. David-Neel and Lama Yongden: 'La Vie surhumaine de Guésar de Ling', Paris, 1931, p. xvi). A printed version of the epic in a somewhat abridged and 'edited' form does exist. The Museum fuer Voelkerkunde in Berlin possesses one printed volume (out of three), secured by the brothers Schlagintweit. The late Dr. Berthold Laufer (*JAOS*, vol. 52, 1 (1932), p. 95) mentions an edition of the Kesar Epic in three volumes printed in Lhasa. I have never come across this edition of the epic, but had seen printed editions from Kham in Eastern Tibet of the chapter 'The war against the Hor tribes' (Hor-dmag-skor ཧོར་དམག་སྐོར). This printed version of the 'War against the Hor tribes' is somewhat shorter than the manuscript version and has been apparently edited by the 'old-believers' or rÑiṅ-ma-pas of Tibetan Buddhism. We are now in a position to state that there exist several versions of the Tibetan epic about king Kesar. Several versions of it are known to exist in the regions of North-East Tibet. At least two versions are known to exist in Amdo alone. A copy of one of the Amdo versions of the Kesar Epic had been brought back by Mr. G. N. Potanin ('Tangutsko-Tibetskaya Okraina Kitaya', II, pp. 3–44, p. 114), and is now preserved in the Public Library at Leningrad. Fragments of another version from Amdo have been recorded by myself and will be published in a forthcoming publication on the Amdo dialect. The Kesar Epic is known to exist among the Bānak (sBra-nag, or 'Black Tents') tribes of the Kuku-nor region, and among the numerous tribes of the Goloks (mgo-log), and the eastern Hor-pas. Unfortunately our knowledge of these two versions is very scant, and we are as yet unable to establish their relation to the Amdo version of the epic. Among the Bānaks Kesar is worshipped as one of the amñē (lit. Tibetan: ཨ་མྱེས A-myes) or protecting deities (W. W. Rockhill: Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet, Washington, 1894, p. 130; also his 'Land of the Lamas', p. 94). The popularity of the Kesar Epic among the Golok tribes is very great. Kesar is said to have left his miraculous sword in the land of the Goloks, and many of the mountain peaks and localities of the Golok tribal area are connected with the name of Kesar, for example, the towering snow-massif of Amñē-ma-c'en (ཨ་མྱེས་མ་ཆེན A-myes ma-chen), which dominates the whole region, is popularly called གེ་སར་ཕོ་བྲང་ Ge-sar pho-braṅ, or the 'Palace of Kesar'. Madame A. David-Neel has given us a French rendering of the Kham version of the epic ('La Vie surhumaine de Guésar de Ling', Paris, 1931), and Dr. A. Tafel had reproduced several passages of the Kesar Epic written down by him at Jyekundo in Northern Kham (A. Tafel: 'Meine Tibetreise', Leipzig, 1923, pp. 374ff.). A Tibetan version of the epic is said to exist among the Shara-yughurs of the Nanshan (Potanin: 'Tangutsko-Tibetskaya Okraina Kitaya', I, p. 442). Further West and South the epic is known throughout the nomad belt of the chang-thang (བྱང་ཐང་ byaṅ-thaṅ) or the Great Tibetan Northern Upland, among the nomad tribes of Sikhim, Bhutan, and throughout Western Tibet (the Kailāsa region, Rupshu, Lahul (Garž'a), Spiti, Zangskar and Ladak). In the region of Western Hor or Nub-Hor (the area round the Dang-La Range, North of Nag-chu-ka), it is very popular among the Hor tribes, professing the ancient Bon faith, and I had seen myself a beautifully written manuscript of the Kesar Epic in sixteen volumes in the possession of a headman (G. Roerich: 'Trails to Inmost Asia', Yale University Press, 1931, p. 360). Further west the epic is well known among the Chang-pas (byaṅ-pa) or 'northerners' of the Great Lake Region, situated immediately north of the Trans-Himālayas (the districts of gNam-ru, Nag-tshaṅ and 'Bum-ra). The West Tibetan version has been made known by the late Rev. A. H. Francke ('Der Fruehlingsmythus der Kesar Saga; Der Wintermythus der Kesar Saga' in the Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, vol. XV, Helsingfors; 'The Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga', *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXX, 1901, pp. 329–341; vol. XXXI, 1902, pp. 32–40 and 147–157; 'A Lower Ladakhī Version of the Kesar Saga' in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1905–1909, parts No. 1134, 1150, 1164 and 1218).

---

[1] This West Tibetan version was obtained by Francke from the village of Sheh in Ladak. Another Ladaki or West Tibetan version, different in detail but similar in the story and in spirit, was obtained by Francke from the village of Khalatse, and the Khalatse version, in the original Ladaki dialect, with English abstracts and notes, was taken up for publication by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and was in print as early as 1905–1909. This has at last been published in 1941, eight years after Dr. Francke's death in 1933, from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, together with an English rendering of the entire Sheh version, and Index of Names and other connected literature compiled and collected by Francke and published in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1901 and 1902, and with an *Introduction* on the Kesar Saga by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, and Francke's *Preface*.

European and American libraries possess several versions of the epic. The Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences possesses two versions of the Tibetan Kesar Epic (S. Kozin: 'Geseriada', Moscow, 1935, p. 223). In the United States manuscripts of the epic are to be found in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, and at the Library of Congress (an abridged life of Kesar presented by the late W. W. Rockhill). Complete sets of the Kesar Epic are only very seldom met with. In most cases known manuscripts of the Kesar Epic contain only separate chapters or books (called skor or rnam-thar), such as the chapters on 'The destruction of the Demon king' (བདུད་རྒྱལ bDud-rgyal), the 'Birth of Kesar', the 'War against the Hor tribes', and the 'Story of the War against king Sa-tham of the country of Jang'. By far the most popular and the most extensive is the book on the 'War against the Hor tribes'. The number of chapters in the various versions of the epic vary considerably. Some contain only the chapters on the 'Birth of Kesar', in which is included the story of his marriage, the chapter on the 'Destruction of the Demon king of the North', and the chapter on the 'War against the Hor tribes'. In some localities only separate chapters are known, for example, the chapter on the 'War against the Hor tribes'. In Amdo in North-East Tibet the following chapters are popularly known:—

(*a*) The 'Birth of King Kesar of gLiṅ'. Throughout the Amdo version Kesar is called Dzamlaŋ-saŋ (འཛམ་གླིང་ཚང་. 'Dzam-gliṅ tshaṅ).

(*b*) The 'Destruction of the Demon king of the North' (བདུད་འདུལ bDud-'dul).

(*c*) The 'War against the Hor tribes' (ཧོར་དམག་སྐོར Hor-dmag-skor).

(*d*) The 'Conquest of China' (རྒྱ་འདུལ rGya-'dul).

(*e*) The 'War against the country of Jang' (ལྗང་སྐོར lJaṅ-skor).

(*f*) The 'Conquest of the country of Mön' (མོན་འདུལ Mon-'dul).

The West Tibetan version edited by A. H. Francke contains the chapters on the 'Birth of Kesar', the story of his youth and marriage to 'Bru-gu-ma (འབྲུག་མོ 'Brug-mo of the North-East Tibetan versions), the story of Kesar's visit to China, the destruction of the Demon king of the North, and the chapter on the 'War against the Hor tribes'. It must be added that the chapter on the 'War against the country of Jang' also exists in West Tibet. In Lahul-Garž'a only two chapters are known to exist: the chapter on the 'War against the Hor tribes' and the chapter on the 'War against the country of Jang'.

Madame A. David-Neel's Kham version of the epic contains the chapters on the 'Birth of Kesar', his fight with the Demon king of the North, Kesar's return to the land of Ling and his war against the Hor tribes, his war against the country of Jang, Kesar's war against the king of the South, and against the king of sTag-gzig (Irān).

The West Tibetan version of the epic recorded by A. H. Francke is preceded by a Prologue containing the story of the eighteen heroes (དཔའ་བོ dap'-bo) of the land of Ling, and Madame David-Neel's Kham version contains a Prologue relating the story of the search by Guru Padmasambhava for a maiden destined to become the mother of king Kesar.

The Nub-Hor version of the epic, which I had occasion to see in the land of the Western Hor-pas, is closely related to the North-East Tibetan versions.

In North-East Tibet new chapters are being constantly added to the epic. Thus in Hua-rī in Lower Amdo a monk recently composed a new song for the chapter on the 'War against the Hor tribes', describing the war preparations of the troops of the land of Ling under the command of Tsha-žaṅ lDan-ma Žaṅ-khra- the lDan-ma'i dMag-sgrigs chen-mo (ལྡན་མའི་དམག་སྒྲིགས་ཆེན་མོ), and a song on the conquest of Jang (ལྗང་འདུལ་གྱི་ཟུར་རྒྱན་ཆེན་མོ lJaṅ-'dul-gyi zur-rgyan chen-mo). In Amdo a song composed by a rñiṅ-ma-pa bla-ma sTag-šam-pa about A-stag lha-mo, the consort of the Demon king (bDud-rgyal-gyi btsun-mo), who became afterwards one of the eighteen wives of king Kesar, enjoys great popularity (verbal communication by the dGe-bšes dGe-'dun Chos-'phel).

The greater part of the Kesar Epic must have originated among the nomadic tribes of North-Eastern Tibet. This does not exclude the possibility of many motifs being derived from foreign sources. From very ancient times the nomad regions of North-Eastern Tibet had been a sort of refuge for nomad tribes forced to retreat into the mountain fastnesses of Tibet by political upheavals in the steppe belt of Central Asia. No doubt these newcomers brought with them their tribal epics and songs, which gradually became incorporated into the Tibetan tribal epics—the epic of king Kesar, the mighty warrior king of Ling. We are still unable to disentangle the history and evolution of the epic, to distinguish between the original Tibetan background and outside motifs. The Kesar Epic shows its heroes living in a country with a semi-sedentary, semi-nomadic population. The rich possess castles (called pho-braṅ or mkhar) —stone buildings with fortified walls and watch towers. The commoners live in tents, the black tents of the Tibetan nomads. The nomads tend large herds of cattle, consisting of yaks and cross-breeds between yaks and domestic cattle (Tibetan མཛོ mdzo). A favourite occupation is the hunting of the wild yak (Tibetan འབྲོང་ 'broṅ) and of the wild ass or kyang (Tibetan རྐྱང་ rkyaṅ, Equus kyaṇg), and horse races, and combats between warriors. All these are familiar themes from the Tibetan North-East, and one can say that the epic correctly reproduces the life of the Tibetan nomads in the North-East of Tibet.

It is as yet impossible to establish the date of the Kesar Epic, as we know it, but certain aspects of it, as for example Kesar's wars against the Hor tribes (that is Turkish tribes of the North), his conquest of Eastern Tibet (war against the country of Jang), his conquest of the South (Mon-yul or the Himālayan valleys), and war against the king of the Ta-zig (the countries lying between Western Tibet and Irān), and the story of Kesar's marriage to the daughter of the Chinese Emperor, show a certain similarity to the story of the famous Tibetan king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po. This tends to indicate that the epic of king Kesar must have originated or at least taken its present form after the Tibetan Imperial Period, that is after the first half of the ninth century A.D.

The language of the epic often influenced by the spoken dialects of Tibet does not permit any deductions as to the date of the epic and of its origin. The epic of Kesar had spread all over Tibet, and especially among the nomad tribes of the North and North-East. In each district it is being told in the local dialect, but the subject of the epic, the main episodes of king Kesar's life remain the same. Naturally there is noticeable a considerable difference in details which often had been introduced from local folklore and tribal epics. The scarcity of manuscript versions of the epic resulted in a considerable variety of oral versions which differ considerably in respect of details. In some of the versions certain traces of a North-East Tibetan origin are still discernible. The language of the oral versions is not the classical written Tibetan, it is a style closely approaching the every-day colloquial language with certain archaisms. Thus the Ladakī version edited by A. H. Francke in the *Bibliotheca Indica* has been chanted in the spoken dialect of Ladak. Generally speaking, the style of the language of the oral versions depends a great deal on the degree of literacy of the rhapsodist. Rhapsodists with a good knowledge of the literary language endeavour to preserve the literary character of the language, whereas those, who had learnt the epic by heart during recitals are apt to use their own dialect.

The manuscript versions of the Kesar Epic found in Tibet exhibit definite similarities to the North-East Tibetan versions. The oral versions seem to be an outgrowth of the manuscript versions, much enlarged and furnished with a wealth of details not to be found in the manuscript versions. From the point of view of the language, the manuscript versions are written in a language and style which differ considerably from the classical language, and show great similarity with the style and language of Tibetan songs and ballads many of which go back to the pre-Buddhist period. The language of the manuscript-versions points towards the North-East of Tibet and Kham (present tense forms in གདའ་བ gda'-ba, past tense forms in thel, and vocabulary. Ex. the a-gu of the Ladakī version which represents a local pronunciation of the Tibetan ཨ་ཁུ A-khu 'uncle', as shown by Dr. B. Laufer). The frequent use of the word in the West Tibetan version may be an indication of its East Tibetan origin. A-khu or uncle is a common form of addressing people in the East and North-East of Tibet (Amdo: a-k'ï).

The language of printed versions stands nearer to the classical form of the Tibetan language.

The similarity of the main episodes indicates the existence of a primitive Kesar Epic which must have originated among the Tangut and Tibetan tribes of the North-East. I venture to propose the following stages in the evolution of the Kesar Epic:—

1. Primitive Kesar Epic—an heroic epic which originated among the Tangut and Tibetan tribes of the North-East.
2. Manuscript Versions of the epic (in some of the extant versions Buddhist elements predominate).
3. Printed abridged version of the epic, edited by Rñiṅ-ma-pa lamas in Kham (Derge-rDzogs-chen dgon-pa).
4. Oral Versions of the epic strongly coloured by local folklore.

The Kesar Epic in its primitive form must have represented an heroic nomad epos. It is as yet impossible to establish which of the known parts belonged to the primitive epic, but it seems probable that the accounts of king Kesar's wars against the Hor tribes, that is the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, the war against the country of Jang, and the Southern Himālayan valleys, as well as the descriptions of the battles and contests between famous warriors belong to an ancient nomad epos, and must have formed part of the primitive epic song about king Kesar. Gradually the original outline of the epic became enriched with a wealth of details borrowed from local folklore, and it has been pointed out that the epic of king Kesar contains many parallels to European folklore. The original story of the epic had been closely interwoven by fairy-tale motifs. The Tibetan versions consist of prose and extensive passages in verse. In the oral versions the passages in verse seem to predominate, and it seems more than probable that the original epic of Kesar consisted of passages in verse. It is also noteworthy that most of the archaisms found in the language of the epic are found precisely in the versified portions. Whereas all the known versions of the Tibetan Kesar Epic show considerable similarity in the main episodes of the epic, the local versions differ considerably in respect of details. Some of the versions had been doubtlessly 're-edited' in a Buddhist milieu, others, as for example the West Tibetan version recorded by the late Dr. A. H. Francke, show an unmistakable imprint of local West Tibetan folklore. A. H. Francke was of the opinion that the epic was closely related to the pre-Buddhist mythology of Tibet and even attempted to interpret it in terms of a nature mythology (spring and winter myths). G. N. Potanin on the other hand insisted on its epic character, and even expressed the opinion that the epic must have originated among Turkish tribes of Central Asia, and compared it to the Alexander-romance (G. N. Potanin, Etnogr. Obozrenie, XXI, 2, pp. 22-3). Undoubtedly in its original form the Kesar Epic must have possessed a pre-Buddhistic background, and even in the present text of the epic one finds frequent allusions to the ancient Bon-po faith of Tibet. Thus we find often invoked the founder of the Bon-po faith gŠan-rab mi-bo (lha-skyabs-su bsdod-do Bon-gyi lha-bon ston-pa gŠan-rab bka'-drin-che ལྷ་སྐྱབས་སུ་བསྡོད་དོ་བོན་གྱི་ལྷ་བོན་སྟོན་པ་གཤན་རབ་བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ). The epic knows the three main divisions or spheres of the World: sTeṅ-lha or Heaven, ruled by དབང་པོ་བརྒྱ་བྱིན dBaṅ-po brGya-byin or Śatakratu-Indra, and his consort བཀུར་དམན་རྒྱལ་མོ bKur-dman rgyal-mo (or ཨ་ནེ་བཀུར་དྨན་མོ། A-ne bKur-dman-mo, also called འབུམ་ཁྲི་རྒྱལ་མོ 'Bum-khri rgyal-mo); བར་བཙན bar-btsan or མི་ཡུལ mi-yul, the World of Men, and ཡོག་ཀླུ Yog-klu, the Underworld, or the World of the Nāgas. One often finds in the text of the epic such ancient shamanistic concepts as the 'Lofty blue sky' (གོང་སྔོན་ནམ་མཁའ Goṅ-sṅon nam-mkha'). Gradually Buddhist elements penetrated the epic Indra or brGya-byin was replaced by Guru Padmasambhava, and Kesar himself became a protector of the Buddhist faith and builder of Buddhist monasteries. At the beginning of versified portions one now finds the usual Buddhist invocation to the Tri-ratna (སྐྱབས་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས sKyabs-dkon-mchog gsum-la gsol-ba-'debs).

Before giving a brief outline of the contents of the epic, a few words must be said about the rhapsodists in whose midst it is preserved, and who gradually have assumed the rôle of priests or exorcists of king Kesar. Among the rhapsodists of the Kesar Epic one finds both professional itinerant rhapsodists, distinguished by a special costume, and ordinary laymen, both men and women. The recital of the epic may take anything from three to ten days. The epic is sung or often read drawlingly. A professional rhapsodist may often improvise whole passages while reciting it. I still vividly remember my experience with a rhapsodist of the Kesar Epic whom I had invited to write it down. This rhapsodist continuously improvised passages and whenever I asked him to repeat the passage sung by him, he would always sing it in a slightly different version. Professional rhapsodists seldom use manuscripts of the epic during recitals. They know it by heart and often sing it in a sort of trance. Laymen on the contrary read it from a manuscript, and seldom know it by heart, except for a few passages. Itinerant rhapsodists are distinguished by a special costume. These rhapsodists (སྒྲུང་པ sgruṅ-pa, pronounced ḍʳuŋ-pa, or སྒྲུང་བཤད sgruṅ-bšad) wear on the head a special high hat, called the 'rhapsodist's hat' or སྒྲུང་ཞྭ sgruṅ-žwa. The hat is white and is adorned with the images of the Sun and Moon. It is a pointed hat with three triangular shaped sides, edged with red. On his body a rhapsodist wears a white Tibetan coat or chu-pa. It is noteworthy that the colour of the hat and coat is white, white being the colour of the ceremonial garments worn by Bon-po priests and exorcists. An itinerant rhapsodist of the Kesar Epic always carries with him a painted image or thaṅ-ka representing the life-story of king Kesar, and an arrow adorned with multi-coloured (blue, green, yellow and red) ceremonial scarfs or kha-btags. With the help of this arrow or dā-tar (མདའ་དར mda'-dar), the rhapsodist points out the various episodes of the Kesar Epic depicted on the painting. Some of the more famous rhapsodists are accompanied on their journeys by a troop of disciples who learn the art of singing and reciting the epic. In the Amdo Province of North-East Tibet the rhapsodists of the Kesar Epic often belong to the ancient Bon faith. Very often a rhapsodist of the Kesar Epic is also well known as an exorcist. Among the Goloks and the Hor-pas of North-East Tibet the epic is recited during funeral ceremonies. Before such a recital a flat platform is prepared and the floor is strewn with *rtsam-pa* or barley-flour. The listeners sit around the platform and the rhapsodist sits facing the platform. The recital continues for several days. It is commonly said that frequently hoof-prints appear on the platform, and these are believed to represent the hoof-prints of the mighty steed of king Kesar, invoked by the rhapsodist. Some of the rhapsodists lead a sedentary life and marry. In such cases the sons often follow their fathers and become rhapsodists in their turn. In Western Tibet, in Ladak the Kesar Epic is sung by village musicians or bedas. One of the versions of the epic recorded by Dr. A. H. Francke (his 'first manuscript') was recited by a girl of about sixteen years of age (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXX, 1901, p. 330). In some districts of Tibet the Kesar Epic and its singers were persecuted by the Lamaist clergy and this somewhat reflected on the popularity of the epic (king Kesar is popularly believed to be the mortal enemy of the yi-dam lCam-sriṅ). Of late, the followers of the 'old-believers' sect (rñiṅ-ma-pa) and the dGe-lugs-pas have attempted to appropriate the popular epic. In Kham among the rñiṅ-ma-pas one finds a service or cho-ga, and a ceremony of offering a gtor-ma in honour of king Kesar who is worshipped as a protector or chos-skyoṅ. In Amdo among the followers of the dGe-lugs-pa sect one often hears the unexpected statement that Tsoṅ-kha-pa himself, the Tibetan Reformer, had been once the chaplain (ཨ་མཆོད a-mchod, pronounced *amc'ol'* in Amdo) of King Kesar of Ling!

The name of king Kesar is connected with the principality of Ling (གླིང་ gLiṅ) in North-Eastern Tibet, situated to the South-East of Jyekundo, between Jyekundo and Kantse. The place was visited by A. Tafel in 1905-6 and by Madame A. David-Neel. The present-day Chief of Ling considers himself to be a descendant of king Kesar's half-brother.

Now let us give **a brief outline of the famous epic, as sung in Greater Tibet.**

The first chapter or book of the Tibetan version of the Kesar Epic contains an ACCOUNT OF THE SENDING OF KESAR ON EARTH TO COMBAT EVIL. According to some of the versions (the West Tibetan version, the North-East Tibetan (Amdo) version, and the Mongol versions) Kesar was said to have been the youngest son of brGya-byin (Śatakratu-Indra) named དོན་གྲུབ Don-grub (in the Mongol version translated by Schmidt and retranslated by Kozin, Kesar Don-grub is said to have been the middle son of Indra—Üile bütügēgči or Don-grub). In the Tibetan version of the epic rendered into French by Madame A. David-Neel and the Lama Yongden, king Kesar is said to have been an envoy of Padmasambhava. According to this version Guru Rin-po-che or Padmasambhava decides to send an envoy to the country of Ling to combat evil misfortunes. His choice falls on ཐུབ་པ་དགའ་བ Thub-pa dGa'-ba, son of འཁོར་ལོ་བདེ་མཆོག 'Khor-lo bDe-mchog and of རྡོ་རྗེ་ཕག་མོ rDo-rje Phag-mo (Vajra-varāhī). This version evidently originated among the rñiṅ-ma-pas or 'old-believers' of Eastern Tibet, where the sect is still strong and possesses numerous followers in the vicinities of Derge and rDzogs-chen dgon-pa. Before descending to Ling, the future king Kesar requests the gods that he might be given a steed that 'death could not overtake', a saddle studded with precious stones, a helmet, a sword, a coat of mail, a bow and arrows, and two warriors to accompany him and assist him in his mission. Padmasambhava then proceeds to the Realm of the Nāgas in search of a nāgī girl fit to become the mother of king Kesar. His choice fell on Dzē-den (མཛེས་ལྡན mDzes-ldan). Padmasambhava orders her to be sent to Ling. On her arrival in the land of Ling, Dzē-den enters the service of the wife of Senglön (སེང་བློན Seṅ-blon. Madame David-Neel writes the name Singlen), Chief of Ling. In her jealousy Senglön's wife banishes the nāgī girl to a mountain pass, said to be haunted by evil spirits. On the way to the pass, Dzē-den fell asleep and miraculously became pregnant. On her return to Senglön's camp a boy was born to her.

According to the Amdo version the gods ལྷ་བྱིན Lha-byin and A-ne Goŋ-^{x}men jya-mo (A-ne Goṅ-sman rgyal-mo ཨ་ནེ་གོང་སྨན་རྒྱལ་མོ) first sent their eldest son to see the land of Ling, but he returned without reaching Ling. Then the second son was sent, but he also returned without having been able to see the land of Ling. Then the youngest son asked permission to put on his father's helmet and coat of mail. Having put on the coat of mail, the boy jumped into the saddle and rode off to the land of Ling. On his return Dzamlang-sang (Kesar) made a request to A-ne Goŋ-^{x}men-jya-mo, that he would not go to the land of Ling unless he be given a handful of blood from the nose of an ant, and a handful of the veins of a louse. Dzamlang did not want to leave the Realm of Gods or Lha-hyul, and therefore made this request which was difficult to comply with. Having accepted the will of the gods, Dzamlang-sang, the future king Kesar, assumed the shape of a white bird (bya dkar-po) and descended to the land of Ling. The wife of C″o-t‘oŋ, one of the elders of Ling, saw as it were a large shadow descending on the land of Ling. She told her husband that the shadow must be an evil omen, and that probably Kesar was being reincarnated in Ling. One morning a son was born to Gïg-zā lha-mo (འགག་བཟའ་ལྷ་མོ 'Gag-bza' lha-mo), who received the name of Cō-re (ཅོ་རེ Co-re, also written ཆོ་རིས Cho-ris). In those days the land of Ling paid tribute in men to the Demon-ogre king. When the chief of the demons ʷdïl′-gen (བདུད་རྒན bdud-rgan) C‘‘am-ba Laγ-riŋ (ཁྲམ་པ་ལག་རིང་ Khram-pa Lag-riṅ) arrived in Ling in order to collect the tribute, the chief of Ling A-k‘ï C‘‘o-t‘oŋ (ཨ་ཁུ་ཁྲོ་ཐུང་ A-khu Khro-thuṅ) decided to give him as tribute the newly-born son of Gïg-zā lha-mo. The mother wept bitterly, and the boy said to her: ‘Do not lament for me! When the chief of the demons will come to-morrow, tell him to open wide his mouth, and place me inside his mouth’. When the chief of the demons arrived at the tent of Gïg-zā lha-mo she placed her son on a shovel and offered the boy to the demon chief, saying: ‘Chief of demons, swallow my child without biting him!’ When the demon chief had swallowed Cō-re, the latter rose inside the chief's throat and blocked the passage. Panting from pain, the chief murmured: ‘O Cō-re descend quickly into my stomach!’ But Cō-re continued to block the chief's throat, and the latter died suffering acute pains. Then follow a number of attempts of C‘‘o-t‘oŋ to destroy Kesar with the help of powerful demon magicians. From every trial Kesar comes out victorious.

The second part of the chapter on the birth of Kesar deals with the STORY OF KESAR'S MARRIAGE to Ḍʳïg-mo (འབྲུག་མོ ’Brug-mo), who is also coveted by the old C‘‘o-t‘oŋ. A contest is arranged, and Kesar wins the contest, and the hand of Ḍʳïg-mo. The gods remind Kesar, always called Dzamlang-sang in the Amdo version, of his duty to go and destroy the chief of the demon-ogres of the North. KESAR PROCEEDS TO THE NORTH TO FIGHT AND KILL THE DEMON KING, and leaves behind Dʳïg-mo. On his arrival at the camp of the Demon king he finds that the Demon king had gone out hunting. Kesar persuades the Demon king's wife Me-bza’ ’bum-skyid to help him in destroying the Demon king. Me-bza’ ’bum-skyid conceals Kesar in the castle of the Demon king and instructs Kesar how to kill the demon. The latter returns from hunting and through his magic powers feels the presence of danger. He asks his wife about it, and the latter reassures him and the demon falls asleep. Then Kesar comes out of his hiding place and destroys the Demon king. Me-bza’ ’bum-skyid gives Kesar a magic drink and he forgets the Past and the land of Ling, and continues to live with Me-bza’ ’bum-skyid in the palace of the Demon king. Meanwhile the king of the Hor Kïr-kar (གུར་དཀར Gur-dkar), being anxious to marry, sent out a crow in search of a queen for himself. The crow proceeds to Central Tibet (དབུས dbUs) to have a look at the Tibetan princess O-cog, then to Nepāl to the palace of the princess Khri-btsun, and to China to see the Chinese princess Koŋ-co (རྒྱ་བཟའ་ཀོང་ཅོ rGya-bza’ Koṅ-co. Koṅ-co>Chinese kung-chu, Imperial princess), and then to the land of Ling to see the Lion-lady Ḍʳïg-ge (སེང་ལྕམ་འབྲུག་གེ Seṅ-clam ’Brug-ge). The crow returns to the camp of king Kïr-kar and informs the king that most beautiful of them all is Ḍʳïg-ge of Ling—‘when standing she is similar to a banner hoisted, when sitting she is similar to a multicoloured tent’.

Learning of the absence of Kesar from Ling, the Hor king decides to raid Ling and carry away Ḍʳïg-ge. The raid is successful, the troops of Ling suffer defeat, and even the brother of Kesar—Jya-ts‘a-saŋ (རྒྱལ་ཚ་ཚང་ rGyal-tsha-tshaṅ) is killed, and Ḍʳïg-ge carried away to the land of Hor. ḌᴿÏG-GE, A CAPTIVE IN THE LAND OF HOR, sends a crow with a message to Kesar in the land of the northern demons. The crow flew to the demon land and sat on the tent of Kesar, and uttered a caw. Kesar got angry, took his bow and arrow, and shot the crow, when the bird fell on the ground. Me-bza’ ’Bum-skyid took the letter and gave it to Kesar. Kesar read the letter and learnt that the Hor-pas had plundered the land of Ling, that they had killed his brother Jya-ts‘a-saŋ, and had carried away his wife Ḍʳïg-ge as captive. Greatly afflicted by the news, Kesar takes his magic arrow ‘fulfilling wishes’ and turning himself in the direction of the land of Hor sends the arrow. The arrow reaches the camp of the king of Hor during a big feast and drives into a big boulder. A hundred blacksmiths try to break it, but fail in their effort; a hundred carpenters try to saw it, but also fail in their effort. Then Ḍʳïg-mo wraps her hand with a white kerchief and pulls the arrow out. ‘What sort of an arrow is this?’—the king of Hor asks her, and Dʳïg-mo answers: ‘This is the arrow of Kesar’. But Me-bza’ ’Bum-skyid gives Kesar again the magic drink and he again forgets the Past and the land of Ling. Then his steed, the wise rKyaṅ-rgod reminds Kesar of his duty to go back to Ling. Kesar proceeds to Ling, and assumes the shape of a trader, and camps on the meadow belonging to old C‘‘o-t‘oŋ, the chief of Ling. C‘‘o-t‘oŋ sends Kesar’s father Rarkyē (སེང་བློན་ར་སྐྱེས Seṅ-blon Ra-skyes) to the trader’s tent in order to collect the tax due for the grazing of caravan animals on the meadow. The trader invites Rarkyē to his tent, and offers him a cup of tea. Old Rarkyē recognizes in the cup, the cup of his son Kesar, and begins to weep. The trader inquires about the reason of his affliction, and Rarkyē tells him that he had a son named Dzamlang who had gone to the country of demons and had not returned. The trader (Kesar) then tells him that he had been to the land of demons, and that this cup had been given to him by the demons. On hearing this Rarkyē begins to weep again, but the trader suddenly transforms himself into Kesar. The old man in great haste runs to C‘‘o-t‘oŋ’s tent, shouting loudly ‘O C‘‘o-t‘oŋ! to-day my darling, and your adversary, has come back!’ C‘‘o-t‘oŋ understood that king Kesar had come back, and proceeds with a ceremonial scarf to the tent of Kesar, but there he finds only a stranger. Full of rage he rushes back to his camp and begins to maltreat the old Rarkyē.

Meanwhile Kesar assuming his true shape mounts his steed and proceeds towards C‘‘o-t‘oŋ's tent. C‘‘o-t‘oŋ full of anguish shouts to his daughter: 'Quick, place me in the brown leather bag for meat!' The daughter having placed C‘‘o-t‘oŋ inside the bag, then placed the latter on the table in front of Kesar. Kesar observed that something was trembling inside the bag, and said that this was an evil omen. He then takes an awl and pierces the bag. C‘‘o-t‘oŋ begins to howl, and Kesar continues to prod the bag with his awl, and lets C‘‘o-t‘oŋ out when the latter was half-dead. Kesar on his return to Ling begins preparations for his WAR AGAINST THE HOR. A large force of horsemen is mustered, and with Kesar at its head proceeds towards the frontiers of Hor. On the march, Kesar receives a message from his divine protector Goŋ-^{x}men lha-mo telling him to send his troops back, and to proceed against the Hor alone. King Kïr-kar of Hor has a bad dream and he asks his minister Šemba (བཤན་པ bŠan-pa) to interpret it. Šemba explains that the dream was full of evil omens, and that it presaged the coming of Kesar. En route Kesar overcomes various difficulties, he crosses a virgin forest the trees of which drew together on his approach. He overcomes seven ogres which appear in the shape of beautiful maidens, two rocks that tried to crush him, etc. On approaching the castle of the king of Hor, Kesar assumed the form of a lama. The daughter of king Kïr-nag sees him and invites the lama to her parents' tent. She goes to bring a horse for the lama, but on returning finds a boy on the road. Unable to find the lama, she asks the boy (Kesar) to become a shepherd in her home. The king Kïr-nag takes the boy into his service, and Kesar spends his days guarding sheep. The boy (Kesar) wins a horse-race. One day king Kïr-nag was invited by king Kïr-kar to a feast. The shepherd boy begged the king to take him along. On arrival to Kïr-kar's camp, Kesar destroys a mighty warrior famous throughout the country of Hor. With the help of an iron chain KESAR PENETRATES WITHIN THE CASTLE OF KÏR-KAR AND KILLS THE KING. King Kïr-ser is also killed by Kesar, and the soul of Kïr-nag is banished. KESAR TAKES D^{R}ÏG-MO AND THE WEALTH OF KÏR-KAR AND PROCEEDS TO THE LAND OF LING. On the way Kesar remembers that D^{r}ïg-mo had a son born during her captivity. He then returns to Hor, seizes the boy, and kills him. On his return to Ling, he lives for many years happily and the country becomes prosperous.

Then again the GODS COMMAND KESAR TO PROCEED AGAINST THE COUNTRY OF JANG. The Ling troops are again mustered. The Hor horsemen under the command of Šemba Me-ru-tse (བཤན་པ་སྨེ་རུ་ཙེ bŠan-pa rMe-ru-tse) join forces, and the huge army invades Jang. The chapter gives a vivid description of battles, and we have no doubt that these descriptions belong to the ancient strata of the epic. Again Kesar's divine protectress

A-ne Goŋ-^{x}men jya-mo orders Kesar to proceed against king Sa-tham of Jang alone with the help of his magic powers. Meanwhile king Sa-tham, accompanied by his ministers and nobles, proceeds to the shores of a lake to perform a religious ceremony and ablution. The lake nymph (མཚོ་སྨན mtsho-sman) assuming the shape of a beautiful nāgī (ཀླུའི་བུ་མོ klu'i bu-mo) offers to the king a crystal vase filled with scented nectar (སྨན་སྤོས་ཀྱི་བདུད་རྩི sman-spos-kyi bdud-rtsi). Kesar arrives at the lake, then transforms himself into an iron fly (ལྕགས་ཀྱི་སྦྲང་བུ lcags-kyi sbraṅ-bu) and penetrates king Sa-tham's inside, causing the death of the king. The country of Jang becomes a vassal State of Kesar.

The Amdo version contains also the chapters on THE CONQUEST OF CHINA (རྒྱ་འདུལ RGYA-'DUL) BY KESAR, AND KESAR'S MARRIAGE TO PRINCESS KOŊ-CO, DAUGHTER OF THE CHINESE EMPEROR, and the chapter on THE CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY OF MÖN (མོན་འདུལ Mon-'dul). The gods again remind Kesar of the necessity to conquer the southern regions or Mön. The troops of Ling are again mustered and joined by the forces of Hor and Jang. The war is victorious and the valleys of the South are incorporated in the kingdom of Kesar who returns to Ling.

The East Tibetan version translated into French by Madame A. David-Neel follows similar lines. After a boy had been born to the maiden Dzē-den, Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ, one of the elders of Ling, learns of the birth of the boy and recalls an ancient prophecy about the coming of the future king Kesar to Ling, when his own power will wane. He therefore decides to destroy the newly-born Kesar. But all his attempts to destroy the boy prove futile. Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ proceeds to a magician living in a cave in order to persuade him to destroy the newly-born boy who spells misfortunes to Ling. The magician advises Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ to send the boy to his cave, but Kesar, when sent to the magician's cave, manages to destroy the powerful magician. Thereupon Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ banishes Kesar and his mother the nāgī. During the exile, Guru Padmasambhava appears in a vision to Kesar, and exhorts him to strive to become king of Ling. Kesar should first obtain the eight treasures: a life-preserving knot (ཚེ་མདུད tshe-mdud), a helmet, a rdo-rje, a sword, a bow and arrows. Padmasambhava also tells Kesar to marry Ḍ^{r}ug-mo, daughter of bsTan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan of the country of Gā (རྒ rga). Transforming himself into a cow, Kesar proceeds to the tent of Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ and advises him in the name of Padmasambhava to obtain the eight treasures and to marry Ḍ^{r}ug-mo. In order to obtain the hand of the maiden, the crow advises Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ to arrange a horse-race, the winner of which should receive the hand of the maiden and become king of Ling. Ṭ^{r}ʻo-tʻuŋ, believing the crow to be a messenger of Padmasambhava, accepts the advice as excellent, and orders a race to be held at Ling. C'o-rī or Kesar also takes part in the race, mounted on his bay colt, born of the mare, which his mother, the nāgī, had brought with her to Ling. Kesar won the race and became king of Ling and married Ḍʳug-mo. The gods order Kesar to proceed to the North to destroy the Demon king (བདུད་རྒྱལ bdud-rgyal). Kesar is helped by the wife of the Demon king, who conceals Kesar in the demon's castle, and helps him to kill the Demon king on his return. Kesar falls in love with the demon's wife who gives him a magic drink which makes Kesar forget the Past, and the land of Ling. But sPyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokiteśvara) restores the memory of Kesar, and urges him to proceed to Ling. On the way to Ling, Kesar meets the spirit of his half-brother Jya-ts'a, killed by the Hor-pas, who tells him of the misfortunes which befell Ling in Kesar's absence, the evil deeds of Ṭʳ'o-t'uŋ, who seized all power in Ling, and enslaved the parents of Kesar, and the capture of Ḍʳug-mo by the Hor king. Kesar returns to Ling and prepares to fight the Hor tribes. The Ling troops march against the Hor tribes. A giant wild yak ('broṅ), the incarnation of a powerful demon, bars the road of the advancing troops. Kesar destroys the yak. Then transforming himself into an elderly lama, and creating with the help of his magic powers a phantom caravan. Kesar continues his journey to the country of Hor. On reaching the bank of the frontier river, Kesar destroys twenty-eight ferrymen, incarnations of demons, who guard the route to Hor. Kesar then decides to proceed alone and sends his troops back to Ling. Kesar creates a rich caravan and camps outside the palace of king Kur-kar of Hor. The king sends his minister sDig-can bŚan-pa to inquire about the caravan and the traders. bŚan-pa rides out to the caravan's camp, and on the way to the camp meets one of the camp-followers. The man suddenly kicks bŚan-pa's horse and sends the minister to the ground. The minister returns to the palace and warns the king that Kesar must be hidden somewhere among the numerous camp-followers of the mysterious caravan. The king then sends Ḍʳug-mo to see the caravan for herself and inquire about the whereabouts of king Kesar. Ḍʳug-mo on reaching the caravan's camp is told that the caravan belongs to the lama 'Od-zer rgyal-mtshan, and satisfied returns to the palace with presents for king Kur-kar. But the minister recognizes in the presents evil omens. Then gradually one by one Kesar destroys all his enemies. Transforming himself into a boy, Kesar is adopted by a blacksmith, and becomes his apprentice. He kills a powerful and famous warrior of Hor, destroys a Hor general and a hundred Hor horsemen, the prime-minister of Hor, the Hor lama who had discovered his real identity, and then kills king Kur-kar, and returns to Ling. Kesar then destroys king Kur-ser of Hor. The third Hor king Kur-nag flees to distant mṄa'-ris in Western Tibet, and Kesar resolves to pardon him. sDig-can bŠan-pa becomes ruler of Hor.

Then follows the war against king Sa-tham, king of Jang. King Sa-tham of Jang sees a dream which urges him to take possession of the land of Mar-kham, coveted by king Kesar of Ling. Kesar is ordered by his protecting deity to take up arms against Jang. The troops of Ling are mobilized, and the Hor troops under bŠan-pa are called out to assist in the campaign. Kesar transforms himself into a kyang and penetrates the precincts of the palace of the king of Jang. The king with his queen proceeds to the roof of the palace and watch the kyangs grazing, but a frightful wind carries away the queen from the roof who is killed. The king in despair invites fortune-tellers (mo-pas)—manifestations of Kesar, to explain the calamity, and the mo-pas advise the king to place the body of the dead queen on a bed and to spend his time in meditation in order to restore her back to life. Then Cu-la Pön-po, the envoy of king Sa-tham, arrives at the camp of king Kesar. Kesar, advised by his protecting deity, renders his camp invisible, and lets out his famous steed rKyaṅ-rgod to graze outside the camp. Cu-la Pön-po catches the steed and mounts it, but is carried away by the winged steed and is thrown into a lake. The troops of Ling continue their advance against Jang. The general of the Jang forces offers to Dema, one of the Ling warriors, a combat, and is killed in the fight. The troops of Jang flee, pursued by the troops of Ling. The gods advise Kesar to proceed alone against king Sa-tham. Transforming himself into an iron bee, Kesar proceeds against king Sa-tham, who was engaged in the invocation of a nāgī on the shore of a lake. The goddess appears before the king holding a vase filled with nectar. King Sa-tham hurries in front of the goddess in order to partake of the nectar, but Kesar in the shape of the bee penetrates the king's inside causing terrible pains, and kills Sa-tham. The minister Ber-thul of Jang resolves to destroy Kesar and orders the cremation of king Sa-tham's body with the iron bee inside it, but Kesar manages to escape through the head of the dead king. Kesar then wins a combat with Ber-thul, the bKa'-blon of Jang, and the troops of Ling enter the fortress (mkhar) of Jang. Prince Yu-la becomes king of Jang. On his return to Ling, Kesar practises meditation (mtshams) in order to save the souls of the numerous living beings killed by him.

After this comes the story of the war against the Mon, or the kingdom of the South. Kesar has a vision of his protecting deity, who asks the king whether he had forgotten that king Shing-ti of the South has to be conquered. The deity insists that Kesar should discontinue his meditation and proceed against the kingdom of the South. Kesar accepts the command of his divine protectress. The troops of Ling, Hor and Jang are mustered, and advance against the fort of king Shing-ti who prepares for battle. The troops of Kesar succeed in crossing a river and pursue the enemy troops. The king of the South perishes in the fire of the castle. His daughter, the princess Me-tog Lha-mdzes, is saved by Kesar and married to the son of A-khu Ṭ^r‘o-t‘uŋ. War against the Ta-zig kingdom (སྟག་གཟིག sTag-gzig represents a Tibetan transcription of the name Tāj̣ik. Ta-zig in Tibetan literature means Irān, as well as the regions North of the Oxus):

The old Ṭ^r‘o-t‘un wishes to marry a second wife. He finds a bride among the people of Ling and decides to send Dabla, adopted son of Kesar, as his representative to discuss the matter with the parents of the girl. In order to please Dabla, Ṭ^r‘o-t‘uŋ decides to steal the famous horses belonging to the king of Ta-zig (horses from Ferghāna and Transoxiana were famous throughout Central Asia). Ṭ^r‘o-t‘uŋ’s men succeed in taking away several of the famous horses belonging to the Ta-zig king. The king sends out his men to find out the whereabouts of his horses. The men proceed to Ling and find out that the horses had been stolen by order of Ṭ^r‘o-t‘uŋ. Thereupon the king despatches a detachment of his troops to Ling to recover the stolen horses. Ṭ^r‘o-t‘uŋ is captured and punished for his misdeeds. He manages to return to Ling, and tells Kesar of the intention of the Ta-zig king to attack Ling. Kesar resolves to break his meditation and to proceed against the country of Ta-zig. During the campaign Ṭ^r‘o-t‘uŋ is captured by demon-ogres, but Kesar liberates him.

This East Tibetan or Kham version as above, as rendered into French by Madame A. David-Neel and the Lama Yongden, ends with the scene of the dematerialization of king Kesar and his companions.

The West Tibetan version of the Kesar Epic recorded by the late A. H. Francke in Ladak originates from the village of She (Šel) near Leh, and Khalatse. This version contains a Prologue which tells of the creation of the World and the story of the eighteen warriors or dpa’-bo of Ling, which is not found in the East Tibetan versions of the epic. Otherwise the West Tibetan version runs along familiar lines: The birth-story of king Kesar, his marriage to ’Bru-gu-ma (’Brug-mo of the East Tibetan version is evidently a better reading), Kesar’s fight with the giant of the North, ’Bru-gu-ma’s capture by the king of Hor, Kesar’s war against the Hor tribes and Kesar’s journey to China.

The Prologue tells of the origin of Ling. In ancient times there lived an aged couple who owned a small plot of land. On this plot grew a single grass which gradually became as high as a tree and bore fruit. The fruit was collected in a barn where it assumed the shape of worms. The worms ate up each other, until only one worm remained. This last worm transformed itself into a boy, who became a mighty hunter. He destroyed a demon with nine heads and out of the demon's body built the land of Ling. He then married eighteen girls who became the mothers of the eighteen heroes or dpa'-bo of Ling. These heroes were extraordinary beings. The eighteen heroes proceeded to the castle Pa-chi dPal-ldoṅ-mkhar to secure treasures and store them up at Ling. The hero dPal-le arrived first at the castle and recovered the treasures. Then one day dPal-le, while grazing his goats, saw a white bird fighting a black bird. dPal-le at once understood that the black bird was a demon and slung a stone with his sling and killed the bird. Thereupon the white bird transformed itself into Indra (brGya-byin) and allowed dPal-le to make a request which would be granted. dPal-le requested that one of the sons of Indra be sent as king to the land of Ling—'to give a child as chief to the chiefless land'. His request was granted and Indra decided to send his youngest son Don-grub. Don-grub thereupon died in heaven and was reborn on earth. One day mother Gog-bzaṅ lha-mo ('Gag-bza' lha-mo of the East Tibetan version is a better reading) sat in her house at work when a heavy hailstorm began and one hailstone fell into her cup. She ate the hailstone and felt pregnant. All the animals recovered by dPal-le from the castle Pa-chi dpal-ldoṅ also became pregnant during the hailstorm. Don-grub was born from the side of his mother. Although he was destined to become the famous king Kesar of Ling, he often exchanged his natural appearance and transformed himself into ugly creatures. To his mother he appeared as an ugly frog and the poor mother tried to hide the child. But the goddess of Heaven dKur-dman-mo took charge of the child. An old warrior predicts that the newly-born child will become king Kesar of Ling (this passage had evidently been influenced by the Buddha legend. The name of Indra's youngest son Don-grub corresponds to Sanskrit Siddhārtha. The boy is born from the mother's side. The old warrior, who predicts the future of king Kesar and bewails his old age which prevents him from serving under Kesar, reminds one of the seer Asita, and his visit to the newly-born Buddha in the Nālaka-sutta. See also the Asita episode in chapter VII of the Lalita-Vistara). Demons in the shape of lamas attempt to destroy the newly-born child but fail in their efforts.

Kesar competes for the hand of 'Bru-gu-ma whom Khra'i-thuṅ (the Khro-thuṅ of the East Tibetan version), one of the chiefs of Ling, wishes to marry. Among the many difficult deeds which the competitors had to perform were: to secure the wing of the Sun bird, to kill the wild yak Ri-ri and to stretch his hide over the land of Ling. Kesar succeeded in all this and became the husband of 'Bru-gu-ma.

Kesar's journey to China. A virulent epidemic attacks the people of China and the Emperor of China becomes ill. Kesar alone is able to cure the Emperor, and is invited to China. Kesar conquers all obstacles on the way. On his arrival in China, the Emperor recovered. Kesar flees with the Emperor's daughter Koṅ-co and takes with him the treasures of China. He is captured and placed in a deep pit with dragons. He, however, escapes from the pit transforming himself into a fly. Finally Kesar with the Emperor's daughter and the treasures succeeds in reaching Ling. Meanwhile Khra'i-thuṅ had seized the castle of Ling and turned out 'Bru-gu-ma; on Kesar's return the traitor is punished.

The divine protector of Kesar reminds him of his duty to destroy the demon of the North. Kesar proceeds to the North. 'Bru-gu-ma, who wants to accompany him, is sent back to Ling. After many obstacles on the way, Kesar arrives at the castle of the demon, but finds the demon absent on a hunting expedition. The demon's wife Bam-za Bum-skyid ('Bum-bza' 'Bum-skyid) helps Kesar who destroys the giant's nine lives. Then Bam-za Bum-skyid offers Kesar the magic drink and Kesar forgets the Past, 'Bru-gu-ma, and the land of Ling. While Kesar was living with Bam-za Bum-skyid in the demon's castle, the king Halde of Hor, hearing of Kesar's absence from Ling, decides to attack Ling and carry away 'Bru-gu-ma. Ling is attacked and 'Bru-gu-ma tries to evade the king of Hor, and gives him various deeds to perform in order to gain time in the hope of Kesar's return. But finally she has to proceed to the land of Hor. Kesar's brother attempts to bring her back to Ling, but is killed by an arrow shot into the only vulnerable spot of his body disclosed to the Hor-pas by 'Bru-gu-ma. 'Bru-gu-ma becomes the wife of king Halde. The hero dPal-le of Ling sends out birds as messengers to king Kesar in the North. The birds tell Kesar about the fate of Ling and the capture of 'Bru-gu-ma by the king of Hor. Kesar remembers the Past and hurries to Ling. Kesar proceeds to Hor to recover 'Bru-gu-ma. He is ordered by the gods to proceed alone and sends back his horsemen to Ling. In the land of Hor he takes service as a smith's assistant. He fashions an iron chain and with the help of the chain climbs the roof of the Hor castle and overcomes the king of Hor. Kesar returns to Ling and 'Bru-gu-ma is punished for her misdeeds.

The Mongol version of the Kesar Epic exists in a printed form and in numerous manuscript versions. The printed version, printed in 1716 in Peking by order of the Emperor K'ang-hsi, contains only the first seven chapters or books. The manuscript version contains fifteen chapters most of which are preserved in the Library of the Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The first chapter of the Mongol epic relates the birth of Dzürü-Geser. Cotoŋ (<Tibetan Khro-thuṅ. The Mongol Cotoŋ is clearly a transcription of the name as pronounced in North-East Tibet. Ex. C'o-t'oŋ of the Amdo version), one of the elders of Ling, banishes Dzürü into the desert. Dzürü-Geser

destroys the seven albin-demons and converts to Buddhism a band of brigands. Dzürü-Geser tells his brother Dzasa (<Tibetan rGyal-tsha) Shikir that he is Geser, king of Ling. Dzürü-Geser kills a powerful ogre and is banished a second time by Cotoŋ. Dzürü-Geser builds a temple in honour of the bodhisattva Avalokitešvara. Dzürü-Geser competes for the hand of the beautiful Roγ-mo-γoa (<Tibetan 'Brug-mo). Dzürü-Geser tells the secret of his life to his wife Roγ-mo.

2nd chapter: Geser destroys the Black Tiger of the North.

3rd chapter: Geser visits China and marries the daughter of the Chinese Emperor.

4th chapter: Cotoŋ banishes from the territory of Ling Geser's beloved Aralγo-γoa (Tümen J̌ïrγalaŋ). Aralγo-γoa becomes the wife of the twelve-headed ogre (Mongol: manγus). Geser proceeds to destroy the ogre. In the ogre's camp Geser meets his beloved Aralγo-γoa, and with her help destroys the ogre. Geser continues to live with Aralγo-γoa in the ogre's camp near the Golden Stūpa. Aralγo-γoa gives Geser a black coloured magic drink, and Geser forgets the Past, and the land of Ling.

5th chapter: A black crow informs the three Shiraigol khans (Shiraigol designates the Shara-yughur tribes of the Nanshan. Amdo Tibetans and Bānaks call them Hor) of the absence of Geser from Ling, and about beautiful Roγ-mo-γoa who is fit to become the wife of the Shiraigol prince. The Shiraigol khans invade the territory of Ling. Dzasa Shikir, half-brother of Geser, decides to fight the aggressors. The troops of Ling are concentrated near Geser's camp from where Dzasa Shikir advances against the Shiraigol troops. Cotoŋ brings in the false news that the troops of the Shiraigol khans had withdrawn and Dzasa Shikir orders his troops home. The Shiraigol khans again invade Ling and force a passage towards Geser's camp where lives Roγ-mo-γoa. The latter attempts to offer resistance but is overcome and captured. Roγ-mo-γoa sends out an arrow, which belonged to Dzasa Shikir, to Geser in the ogre's camp. Geser receives the missile and learns of the tragedy that befell Ling during his long absence. But his beloved Aralγo-γoa gives him again the magic drink and he again forgets Roγ-mo and the land of Ling. Finally his wise and faithful steed rebels against him and runs away into the steppe. Geser captures the horse and decides to proceed at once to Ling. On his arrival in Ling, Geser meets his father, the old Sanluŋ, who in his absence had been badly treated by Cotoŋ, who had assumed power in the land of Ling. Then in the disguise of a lama, Geser visits the camp of Cotoŋ, and punishes Cotoŋ for his evil deeds. After that Geser starts against the Shiraigol khans. He appears in the camp of the Shiraigol khans in the disguise of an old lama. Then assuming the shape of a boy, Geser enters the service of Šiman Birudza, one of the ministers of Hor, and assists the blacksmith Čoĭruŋ darxan. Gradually he destroys the principal warriors of the land, but is thrown into a deep pit filled with poisonous snakes, but with the help of his magic powers survives the ordeal. Geser then destroys the Shiraigol tribe and returns to his native Ling.

6th chapter: Geser and the xutuγtu-lama, the manifestation of a powerful demon. Geser visits the magician who transforms Geser into a donkey. Geser's warriors after discussing the calamity send word to Aǰu Mergen to ask this powerful sorceress to destroy the demon and liberate Geser. Aǰu Mergen proceeds to the demon's camp in the disguise of the latter's sister, and requests the demon to present the donkey to her. The demon agrees, and the sorceress returns home leading the donkey. She restores Geser to life, and Geser fights the demon, and after many adventures succeeds in setting on fire the lama's hut made of reeds and destroys the evil demon.

7th chapter: Geser liberates his mother from hell.

The manuscript version of the Mongol Epic is much more extensive and contains some fifteen chapters.

The 8th and 9th chapters relate the fight of king Geser with the twelve-headed demon-ogre (manγus), and Geser's fight with king Andalma.

10th chapter: Geser fights the Demon king.

12th chapter: The destruction of the king of demons Gümbü-xan.

13th chapter: The defeat of Način-xan of the North.

15th chapter: The destruction of the evil black leopard.

Chapters XI-th and XIV-th are missing in the collection of Geser manuscripts belonging to the Russian Academy of Sciences (N. Poppe: 'O nekotorïx novïx glavax Geser-xana', Vostochnïe Zapiski, I, Leningrad, 1927, pp. 190–200).

The text of the Mongol version bears clear traces of having been translated from a Tibetan original. The names of the principal heroes and of localities mentioned in the text are either Mongol transcriptions, or Mongol translations of Tibetan names.

Ex. Mongol: Gesĕr (modern Khalkha Mongol: Gessĕr)< Tibetan གེ་སར Ge-sar ~ ཀེ་སར Ke-sar.

Mongol: Gesĕr γarbo Donrub < Tibetan ཀེ་སར་དོན་གྲུབ་དཀར་པོ Ke-sar Don-grub dkar-po, n. of king Kesar (the name Don-grub is also found in the Mongol version in the Mongol translation —Üile bütügēgči. It is noteworthy that Donrub of the Mongol text represents a transcription of Tibetan words adopted in Southern Mongolia, according to which only the ra-btags or 'ra-subjoined' are pronounced. (The Lhasan pronunciation would be Tȫ̜-ʈʳup).

Mongol: Gegše (-Amurčila), n. of Geser's mother < Tibetan འགག་བཟའ 'Gag-bza' (East Tibetan version), Gog-bzaṅ (-lha-mo) of the West Tibetan version. In the West Mongol (Oïrat) version Geser's mother is called Kakša (N. Poppe: 'Geserica', Asia Major, III, fasc. 1, p. 3).

Mongol: Sanluŋ, n. of Kesar's father < Tibetan སེང་བློན Seṅ-blon. (In the Amdo version: Seṅ-blon Ra-skyes. Seṅ-blon is a title, and Kesar's father's name was Rarkyē.)

Mongol: Dzasa, n. of Kesar's half-brother < Tibetan རྒྱལ་ཚ rGyal-tsha.

Mongol: Roγ-mo, n. of Kesar's wife < Tibetan འབྲུག་མོ 'Brug-mo (see note under Don-grub). Also called Roγ-mo naγ-bo < Tibetan འབྲུག་མོ་ནག་པོ 'Brug-mo nag-po.

Mongol: Cotoŋ, ruler of Ling < Tibetan (Amdo version) C‘‘o-t‘oŋ. Kham version: Ṭ^{r}‘o-t‘oŋ. Written Tibetan: ཁྲོ་ཐུང་ Khro-thuṅ. West Tibetan version: Khra'i-thuṅ.

Mongol: Dzürü, n. of Kesar in his boyhood < Tibetan ཚོ་རིས Cho-ris ~ ཙོ་རེ Co-re.

Mongol: Šiman Birudza, n. of the chief minister of Hor < Tibetan (Amdo version) བཤན་པ་རྨེ་རུ་ཙེ bŠan-pa rMe-ru-tse. The West Tibetan version has Šan-kra Mi-ru which is a corruption of the name given in the East Tibetan version.

Mongol: Xara gerteĭ xan—a translation of the Tibetan གུར་ནག་རྒྱལ་པོ Gur-nag rgyal-po, 'The Black Tent' king (of Hor).

Mongol: Šira gerteĭ xan—a translation of the Tibetan གུར་སེར་རྒྱལ་པོ Gur-ser rgyal-po, 'The Yellow Tent' king (of Hor).

Mongol: Caγān gerteĭ xan—a translation of the Tibetan གུར་དཀར་རྒྱལ་པོ Gur-dkar rgyal-po, 'The White Tent' king (of Hor).

The names of localities and rivers mentioned in the text of the epic are given in the Mongol text either as transcriptions or in Mongol translation.

Mongol: Mun~Mon, the southern alpine valleys of the Himālayas < Tibetan མོན Mon.

Mongol: Liŋ, n. of the kingdom of Kesar < Tibetan གླིང་ gLiṅ (pronounced Liŋ). The Lik of Schmidt's and Kozin's translations should be corrected to Ling (Schmidt: Die Taten Bogda Gesser Chan's, Berlin, 1925, p. 8; S. Kozin: 'Geseriada', Moscow, 1935, p. 40).

Mongol: Dzaŋ-γool, the upper course of the Brahmaputra < Tibetan གཙང་པོ་ཆུ gTsaṅ-po chu.

Mongol: Arslan-γool, the Indus < Tibetan སེང་གེ་ཆུ Seṅ-ge chu.

The names of localities and rivers frequently mentioned in the text of the epic all point to the North-East of Tibet. For example, the text frequently mentions the river Xatun-γool, which is the Mongol name of the Huang-ho or the Yellow River (the upper course of the river in Amdo is called རྨ་ཆུ rMa-chu), and the lake Köke-naγūr, the Kuku-nor of the maps (མཚོ་སྔོན་པོ mTsho-sṅon-po in Tibetan).

In the Mongol text we also find the Tibetan name of the unicorn (rhinoceros)—serü < Tibetan བསེ་རུ bse-ru, as well as expressions which represent translations of common Tibetan expressions, as for example xara terigūtü, lit. 'black-headed' used for 'man, a Tibetan', and which represents a translation of the Tibetan expression མགོ་ནག mgo-nag.

The Tibetan origin of the epic had been stressed by the late Professor B. Vladimirtsov, and by the late Dr. Berthold Laufer (WZKM, vol. XV (1901), pp. 77–107). Professor B. Vladimirtsov ('Mongolskiy sbornik rasskazov iz Pañcatantra', Leningrad, 1925, p. 449, note 1) pointed out that the Mongol version of the Kesar Epic, as represented by the Peking edition of 1716, was written in a peculiar style, which did not represent the classical form of the written Mongol language. Professor N. Poppe ('Geserica', Asia Major, III, 2 (1926), pp. 192ff.) has demonstrated that the language of the Mongol version contained elements of the Mongol classical language, and of the spoken dialects of South-Eastern Mongolia. According to Poppe (*ibid.*, p. 193) the Mongol version of the epic must have originated somewhere in the south of Mongolia, and must have been translated from a Tibetan original. Recently S. Kozin ('Geseriada', Moscow, 1935, p. 13) has pointed out that the language of the Mongol version of the epic shows close affinities to the South-Western Oirat dialects. This would support the theory placing the origin of the Mongol version of the Kesar Epic among the Oirat tribes of North-East Tibet, from where the epic penetrated into South-Eastern Mongolia. Among the manuscripts of the Kesar Epic preserved in the Library of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences there is one containing a Mongol version reproducing the Kham or East Tibetan version rendered into French by Madame A. David-Neel (N. Poppe: 'Problemī Buriat-Mongol'skogo Literaturovedeniya', Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya, III (1935), p. 23).

The East Mongol or Khalkha version consists of some fifteen chapters or books. In 1914 the well-known Buriat scholar T. Jamcarano discovered in Urga (Mongolia) a complete version of the Geser Epic in fifteen chapters (Ǐamcarano: The Epics of the Ekhrit-Buriats, Kha-Oshir Khubun (in Russian), Petrograd, 1918, p. xxvii).

The West Mongol version of the epic follows closely the East Mongol version. The Library of the Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences possesses at least two West Modgol versions of the Geser Epic (V_2 and V_3). The West Mongol version was first made known by B. Bergmann 'Nomadische Streifereien', Riga, 1804) where a translation is given of the VIII-th and IX-th chapters of the epic. Two chapters of the epic, very similar to the West Mongol version, communicated by B. Bergmann, had been given by Timkovsky in his 'Putešestvie v Kitai', vol. I (1824), pp. 280–297. (See also Pallas: Mongol. Nachr., ii, p. 103; A. M. Pozdneev: Skazka pro sraženie Geser-xana s Andalmoi (Kalmīckie Skazki, VII), Zap. vol. IX (1896), pp. 41–58.)

Poppe ('Geserica', p. 23) points out that the VIII-th and IX-th chapters of the Kesar Epic seem to have been especially popular among the Buriat-Mongols and the Oīrat West Mongols. The X–XV-th chapters are very popular among the Khalkha Mongols. Among the Buriats only the first nine chapters of the epic are known to exist (Geseri jühen halā—'The nine branches of Geser'). There exists also a West Buriat version of the epic. This version is a typical Buriat epic or üliger, only remotely reminiscent of the written version of the epic (N. Poppe: Zap. Inst. Vost., III (1935), p. 19). At present we know at least four versions of the Buriat-Mongol Geser Epic, comprising something like 100,000 verses! The Russian Academy of Sciences in collaboration with Mongol scientific institutions is bringing out a critical edition of the Mongol text, an annotated translation, and a collection of articles on the problems of the Kesar Epic.

The Epic of Kesar-Geser exercised considerable influence on the Mongol tribal epics and songs, as for example on the great West Mongol epical poem Ǐanγar (Vladimirtsov: Mongolo-oĭratskiy geroičeskiy epos, Petersburg-Moscow, 1923, p. 21).

I may add that the epic is known among the Dēd-Mongols of the North-East of Tibet, the Tsaidam and Kuku-nor region in the Bānaks where it is frequently read in Tibetan. Among the Bānaks and the Dēd-Mongols, Kesar-Geser is known under the name of Kuan (for Kuan-ti), a fact showing the extent of the influence of the official recognition by the Manchus of Kesar as Kuan-ti.

Many a custom connected with king Kesar-Geser survive among the non-Tibetan tribes of North-Eastern Tibet and the Kansu borderland. Thus among the Shara-yughurs (also called sarīq yuγur or 'yellow yughurs' (uïghur). Chinese: Huang hsi-fan) to the south of Kan-chow in Kansu Province, many tribal customs are directly connected with the Kesar Epic. Among these tribes one can still find such names of villages, as Gur-kar, Gur-ser and Gur-nag de-wa (Tibetan: sde-pa), which correspond to the names of the three kings of the Hor tribes: Gur-dkar rgyal-po, Gur-ser rgyal-po and Gur-nag rgyal-po. A white strap is sewn on the tents of the Shara-yughurs symbolizing the cut made by king Kesar's sword (ཧོར་སྐྲ་ཁྲ་རིལ Hor-sbra khra-ril). The deity གནམ་ཐེལ་དཀར་པོ gNam-thel dkar-po, mentioned in the epic as the protecting deity of the Hor tribes, is even nowadays worshipped by the Shara-yughurs. Should anyone approach a Shara-yughur tent riding on a light bay horse, the horse will be tied with its head facing the open country, and not the tent. This is done to avoid the danger of Kesar's steed, the wise rTa-rkyaṅ-rgod, suddenly appearing and trampling over the tent. A custom exists among the Shara-yughurs to take their food hurriedly, because, they say, they live in constant danger of an attack by king Kesar. It is said that there exists among the Shara-yughurs a version of the Kesar Epic, in which king Kesar is represented as a dangerous and cunning enemy. Thus the memories of the old tribal wars between the Tibetans and the Turkish tribes still survive, and are a source of constant tribal antagonism. (The Shara-yughurs live south of Kan-chou, also between Su-chou and Kan-chou, between Shuang-ching-tzŭ and Kao-t'ai oasis.)

In the extreme west of the Tibetan upland, in the Karakorum mountains a **version of the Kesar Epic in the Burushaski language** has been recently discovered and published by Lt.-Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer (Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer: The Burushaski Language, vol. II, Oslo, 1935, pp. 100–179; also Lorimer, 'Folk-Lore', vol. XLII (1931), No. 2). This Burushaski version is evidently a translation of an oral Tibetan version, possibly a Baltī version related to the West Tibetan version of the epic. The Burushaski rendering of Tibetan names and words reproduces a Baltī pronunciation (Ex. Brū-mo for 'Brug-mo, n. of the wife of Kesar, and Brūŋ for Tibetan 'broṅ, wild yak).

The Burushaski version contains the story of Kesar's (Kiser in Burushaski) birth, his marriage to Brūmo ('Brug-mo), the capture of Brūmo by the king of Hor, and Kesar's war against the king of Hor. Kiser successfully competes for the hand of Brūmo, and returns to his own country. After some time, Lingpikiser (< Tibetan: gLiṅ Ke-sar) tells his wife that he has to start for a journey to the country of Haihaiyūl. On his arrival there, Kiser deprives the local rulers of sovereignty and makes himself master of Haihaiyūl. In his absence the king of Horyūl (< Tibetan Hor-yul) invades Kiser's country and carries off

Brūmo. The warriors of Ling make an attempt to recapture Brūmo, and Būmlīftan, brother of Kiser, is shot by an arrow which drives into the only unprotected spot of his body, revealed to the Hor warriors by Brūmo. The Wazir of Hor Shamtu Mīru (<.Tibetan bŠan-pa rMe-ru-tse) confronts the Ling warriors. Kiser comes back to Ling, and sets out for the country of Horyūl. On his way he overcomes various obstacles and finally arrives in the land of Hor, where he enters the service of a goldsmith and becomes the latter's son-in-law. The goldsmith is summoned by the king of Hor to his court where Kiser's bow is to be drawn. Kiser accompanies the goldsmith and succeeds in drawing the bow. Then he fashions an iron chain of 100 cubits in length and proceeds to the king's palace. There he threw the chain up to the beam of the palace roof and climbed up the chain, assuming the form of a cat. Brūmo warns the king that Kiser had come, but the king sees only a cat. Kiser then penetrates the king's room and begins wrestling with the king who is overcome. Kiser then takes Brūmo and the treasures of the Hor king and returns to his own country. The two sons of the king of Horyūl and Brūmo are killed by Kiser, and Brūmo is punished for her treason in helping to kill Būmlīftan, Kiser's brother.

The historical background of the Kesar Epic takes us far back into the past of the great nomad empires of Central Asia. According to a story current among the dGe-lugs-pa lamas, the Kesar Epic had nothing historical in itself. It was composed by a famous Tantric lama who was at the same time a great bard. The native place of this Tantric was North-Eastern Tibet, and the epic was composed by him there (see G. N. Roerich: Trails to Inmost Asia, Yale University Press, 1931, p. 359). The nomads of Kham and Hor understand the epic differently. According to them it is not a production of a single bard, but is a poetical record of ancient wars that were fought in the past. Tibetan tradition has preserved the memory of yet another Kesar, the leader of Central Asian tribes which were constantly menacing the borders of North-Eastern Tibet. In the པདྨ་བཀའི་ཐང་ཡིག Padma bKa'i thaṅ-yig or 'Commands of Padmasambhava', king Kesar is often mentioned as leader of Central Asian nomadic tribes, enemies of Tibet. In the second chapter of the Padma bKa'i thaṅ-yig (Kha, p. 22*a*), king Kesar's name is associated with that of the Dru-gu ∼ Gru-gu (both names reproduce the name, Türk. See P. Pelliot, *J. As.*, 1914, ii, p. 144; F. W. Thomas *JRAS*, 1931, p. 828) tribes. The Tibetans were victorious and some of the Dru-gu were settled in the Mön region (in Tibetan literature the country of Mön or Mon-yul designates the southern Himālayan valleys. The inhabitants of these valleys are called Mön-pas). In chapter V, p. 13*a* of the same book, it is said that king Kesar 'was like a mad steed for Tibet. With the help of magic, Kesar was defeated. The Tibetan army in battle array defeated Kesar'. Here in this passage Kesar is definitely stated to have been the leader of the enemies of Tibet. On p. 6*b* of the same chapter, king Kesar is mentioned as one of the Four Great Kings of the World: 'To the East under the constellation of the Pleiads (sMin-drug)—the Emperor of China—the Lord of Wisdom; to the South under the constellation Gaṇḍūṣa—the King of India—the Lord of Religions; to the North under the constellation of the Great Bear (sMe-bdun)—Kesar, the king of armies; to the West under the Moon—the King of Irān (sTag-gzig)—the Lord of Riches' (In the rGyal-rabs, p. 21*a*: rGya-gar chos-kyi rgyal-po, sTag-gzig nor-gyi rgyal-po, Ge-sar dmag-gi rgyal-po, gzugs-mdzes Khrom-gyi rgyal-po). In this passage king Kesar takes the place of the Lord of Horses of the well-known theory of the Four Great Kings of the World (On the theory of the Four Great Kings of the World, see P. Pelliot: 'La Théorie des Quatre Fils du Ciel', T'oung Pao, vol. XXII, 2 (1923), pp. 97–125). In the མ་ཎི་བཀའ་འབུམ Maṇi bKa'-'bum (J. Bacot: 'Le mariage de Sroṅ-btsan sgan-po', p. 16) it is said that the Emperor of China had offered king Kesar to marry a Chinese Imperial Princess, and in the rGyal-rabs of Ladak king Kesar is referred to as one of the suitors of Koṅ-co, the Chinese Princess, who afterwards became the wife of king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po (Karl Marx: History of Ladakh, *JASB*, vol. LX, No. 3 (1891), p. 116). The country of king Kesar is mentioned among the countries of Ga-ža'i yul (probably a misprint for A-ža'i yul),[1] 'Bru-za'i yul (Hunza-Nagar), Bha-la'i yul (Bactra-Balkh), Žaṅ-žuṅ-gi yul (Guge in W. Tibet), sTag-gzig-yul (Irān and the countries of the Oxus), and Tho-gar-gyi yul (Tokharestān in North Afghanistān, or possibly the Tokharian kingdom in the region of Kucā-Turfān in Eastern Turkestān) (Padma bKa'i thaṅ-yig, p. 165*a*; rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuṅ-gnas, ed. S. C. Das, Calcutta, 1915, p. 15). In the La-dwags-kyi rGyal-rabs (A. H. Francke: 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet', vol. I, p. 20) the country Khrom Ge-sar 'Dan-ma is mentioned along with Kha-che (Kashmir), Bal-yul (Nepāl), Za-hor (Mandi), O-rgyan (Uḍḍiyāna, Swāt), sTag-gzig (Irān), rNa-nam (sNa-nǎm, Samarkand), Thon-mi Gru-gu (Türk, the region of Guchen-Turfān), and Rag-ši. The rGyal-rabs Bon-kyi 'byuṅ-gnas (ed. S. C. Das, p. 15) calls Kesar—king of the country of Phrom (sometimes written Khrom) of the North (བྱང་ཕྱོགས་གེ་སར་ཕྲོམ་གྱི་ཡུལ byaṅ-phyogs Ge-sar Phrom-gyi yul). Here the word Phrom ~ Khrom represents either a Tibetan transcription of a place-name, and if so, should be perhaps compared to the mysterious Par-Pûrum of the Xosho Tsaidam inscription in North Mongolia (V. V.

---

[1] Pelliot, *J. As.*, 1912, ii, pp. 520–3; T'oung Pao, 1920-1, pp. 323–5. A-ža'i yul = Tu-yü-hun.

Radlov: 'Die alttuerkischen Inschriften d. Mongolei', St. Petersburg, 1895, vol. III, p. 429; V. Radlov and P. Melioransky: 'Drevnie türkskie pamyatniki', St. Petersburg, 1897, p. 17. The country of Par-Purum is mentioned in the inscription together with Tibet (Tüpüt) and the Kirghiz (Qïrqïz)), or possibly means 'army', as in the expression khrom-gyi dpa'-bo 'warrior of the army' (Phrom or Khrom in Classical Tibetan means 'multitude, army', also 'market').[1] If so, the expression Ge-sar Phrom-gyi rgyal-po would mean 'Kesar, King of armies', as in the list of the Four Great Kings of the World given by the Padma bKa'i thaṅ-yig and the rGyal-rabs. We know that a Phrom Ge-sar is mentioned in the Khotan Annals, and a king of Khotan is said to have married a daughter of Phrom Ge-sar (A. Stein: Ancient Khotan, p. 580). (Pelliot, *J. As.*, 1914, i, pp. 498-9; 1923, i, pp. 83–88, suggested a connection between Phrom (Chinese: Fu-lin) and Rome (Rōm ~ Rūm). Also B. Laufer: 'Sino-Iranica', pp. 436-7. Chinese Fu-lin probably goes back to a Soghdian *Frīm (Latin Rōmā > Greek *'Ρωμη* Rhōmē>*Rhūmī>Syriac Frūmī>*Frūim, *Frūm, *Frīm>Old Chinese *Fŭrim>Fu-lin. From Rhōmē>*Rūmī>*Rūim, Rūm, Rīm we have the Slav forms Rimŭ, Rzim, etc.).) In the rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuṅ-gnas, ed. Sarat Chandra Das, p. 30, it is said that Kesar, king of gLiṅ, paid tribute to the king of the Mi-ñag, a Tangut tribe of the North-East of Tibet, the founders of the Hsi-hsia kingdom of the X–XIII-th centuries. All the above quotations point to the existence of a persistent and ancient tradition associating the name of king Kesar with the people of Dru-gu ~ Gru-gu, or Central Asiatic Turks, and the country of Phrom ~ Khrom. The various Tibetan attempts to interpret the name Kesar show that the name must be a transcription of a foreign name or title. Albert Gruenwedel (Globus, LXXVIII, p. 98) had expressed the opinion that the name Kesar ~ Geser represented a Mongol-Tibetan rendering of the Roman title Caesar ~ *Καῖσαρ*. Professor F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1931, p. 831, also suggests that the name Ge-sar or Ke-sar may be a dynastic title. The existence of the title Caesar as loan-word in Central Asian languages is attested by a colophon verse appended to an Oriental Iranian or Śaka manuscript of the Maitreya-samiti, translated by Ernst Leumann (Ernst Leumann: Maitreya-samiti, Strassburg, 1919, part II, pp. 152ff.), where we find the expression Kəysar-kulna or 'royal family' (see also E. Leumann: 'Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht', part 3, p. 410—Kəysar-kula). Professor Lueders (Epigraphische Beitraege, Sitz. d. Akademie, Berlin, 1912, pp. 824ff.; Sten Konow: Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. II, part I, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 162–165) had discovered the title kaīsara in the Kharoshṭhī Ārā inscription (Kuṣāṇa period). It is also well known that a dynasty of Kesar descendants in Upper Ladak (La-dwags-stod) is mentioned in the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (A. H. Francke: 'Antiquities of Indian Tibet', vol. II, pp. 93ff.). In modern Tibet there exists a vague tradition that Kesar had been an historical personage (Sir Charles Bell: 'The Religion of Tibet', Oxford, 1931, p. 14). It is not clear whether this tradition originated in connection with the Manchu identification of king Kesar with Kuan-ti, or belongs to the pre-Manchu period.

---

[1] F. W. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1931, pp. 830ff.

It is as yet impossible to say when and where the hero of the Tibetan nomad epic Ke-sar rgyal-po became identified with Kuan-ti, the popular hero of the famous and most widely read Chinese novel 'The Tale of the Three Kingdoms' or San-kuo-chih. This Kuan-ti or Kuan-yü had been a general in the service of the founder of the Shu-Han dynasty in the epoch of the Three Kingdoms (III-d century A.D.). Deified by the Chinese, his worship became popular in the Ming period, and Emperor Shên-tsung of the Ming dynasty (1573–1619) raised Kuan-ti to the rank of 'Grand Emperor'. During the Manchu period the popularity of the god became still greater, and he was proclaimed the Military Protector of the Ch'ing dynasty. The Emperors Chia-ch'ing (1796–1820) and Tao-kuang (1821–1850) paid him special devotion. The first made him Wu-ti or 'Military Emperor', and Tao-kuang ordered that he should be considered equal to Confucius himself! Temples were erected to him in all towns, seats of administration. All throughout the empire special services were held in his honour on the 13th day of the 1st month, and on the 13th day of the 5th month. Military mandarins worshipped Kuan-ti on the 24th day of the 6th month. It seems probable that the identification of Kesar with Kuan-ti originated in the reign of the Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1722), and was part of the Imperial programme to strengthen the ties uniting the Ch'ing dynasty with the nomad tribes of the Mongol-Tibetan borderland. It was under K'ang-hsi in 1716 that the first Mongol printed version of the Kesar Epic appeared in Peking.

The Kesar Epic has left a strong imprint on the popular poetry of the Land of Snows. A number of songs related to the Kesar Epic are even nowadays sung throughout Tibet. During the spring a Kesar festival is held in all the villages of Ladak, and the male population exercises itself in archery. Special songs, called 'Ling songs' or gLiṅ-glu are sung during this festival. These songs usually mention episodes from the Epic of king Kesar (A. H. Francke: 'A Ladakhi Bonpa Hymnal, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXV, August, 1901, pp. 359ff.; A. H. Francke and Anna Paalzow: 'Tibetische Lieder', Mitt. d. Or. Seminars in Berlin, pp. 99-100. The gLiṅ-glu collected by A. H. Francke in Ladak in the villages of Phyaṅ and Kha-la-rtse, see Francke: 'Marriage Ritual in W. Tibet', *Indian Antiquary*, XXX, 1901, pp. 131ff.). Similar songs exist in Amdo in the North-East of

Tibet. They do not form part of the epic, but are inspired by famous episodes from the epic.

King Kesar in Tibetan Art. Pictorial representations of the Kesar Epic and of king Kesar are comparatively rare, and this fact can be probably explained by the attitude of the ruling dGe-lugs-pa sect in Tibet towards the epic, which considered Kesar to be a survival of a non-Buddhist past. Images of king Kesar, both pictorial and in bronze, found throughout Tibet and Mongolia, can be conveniently classed into two groups:—

(*a*) representations of king Kesar's miraculous life, closely following the extant written version of the epic;

(*b*) representations of king Kesar as Kuan-ti, the Manchu War God and protector of the Manchu dynasty.

The second group is by far the largest, and most of the images belonging to this group date back to the XVIII-th and XIX-th centuries.

To the first group belong the so-called Ke-sar thaṅ-ka or painted banners of king Kesar depicting the miraculous life of the king. Such thaṅ-kas are mostly found in the possession of itinerant rhapsodists of the epic, and are only rarely seen in the homes of Tibetan laymen. Some of these banners, representing king Kesar's life, belong to the rÑiṅ-ma-pas or 'Old-believers' sect of Tibetan Buddhism, who were the first to accept the epic and adapt it to their needs. In such cases on the top of the painting will be seen an image of ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ Kun-tu bzaṅ-po or Samantabhadra, or the central figure will represent a Buddhist deity, for example the goddess མཐིང་གི་ཞལ་བཟང་མ mThiṅ-gi Žal-bzaṅ-ma, an attendant of the goddess Lha-mo, riding a mule and holding an arrow (mda') and a mirror (me-loṅ). (See the Ke-sar thaṅ-ka in the Tibetan collection of the Museé Guimet in Paris.) Some of the representations of the Kesar Epic belong to the Bon-po faith, and are distinguished by Bon-po symbology. Sometimes the central figure of a painted banner represents king Kesar himself depicted attired in a white garment with a tiara-like hat surmounted by feathers, a costume still worn by professional rhapsodists of the epic in North-Eastern Tibet. Usually round the central figure are grouped episodes of the miraculous life of king Kesar: his fights with demons and werewolves, which appear in the shape of a black yak, a black horse, and a black she-goat, the destruction of three ravens, birds of evil omen, Kesar's marriage to 'Brug-mo, his combat with the powerful Demon king of the North (rDud-rgyal), Kesar's war against the three kings of the Hor, etc. The composition of such banners reveals clear traces of Buddhist influence and is very similar in composition to the Buddhist thaṅ-kas depicting the lives of famous Buddhist teachers and sages. Such Ke-sar thaṅ-kas are hung during the recitals of the epic by itinerant rhapsodists, and this again seems to be an adaptation of a well-known Buddhist custom of presenting edifying Buddhist dramas, as for example the story of prince Vessantara or the Dri-med Kun-ldan rnam-thar. Sometimes famous episodes of the Kesar Epic form the themes of wall-frescoes in private residences of wealthy Tibetans. The late A. H. Francke ('Antiquities of Indian Tibet', vol. I, pp. 79ff.) had seen one such fresco depicting the war against the country of Jang in a garden-house (rab-gsal) at Changs-pa, a village situated half a mile from Leh in Ladak. It must be added that such frescoes are only rarely met with.

Images belonging to the second group representing Kesar as Kuan-ti are quite numerous and mostly date from the XVIII-th and early XIX-th centuries when the Manchu dynasty did much to spread the cult of its protecting deity, conveniently likened to the nomad warrior-king Kesar. Numerous are the bronze images of king Kesar represented seated in western fashion on a throne—the work of Dolōn-nūr image-makers (XVIII-th century). Large clay and bronze images of Kesar - Kuan-ti are found in the numerous Ke-sar lha-khaṅ or Kesar temples in villages in Amdo in North-East Tibet (G. N. Potanin: 'Tangutsko-Tibetskaya Okraina Kitaya', vol. I, p. 397). Temples dedicated to Kesar - Kuan-ti also exist in Lhasa where they are called rGya-mi lha-khaṅ or 'Chinese Temples', and in Urga (now Ulān Bātor Xoto), capital of Northern Mongolia, and in many localities of Inner Mongolia, and the Sino-Mongolian borderland, where such temples are popularly called Kuan-ti miao or Gessĕr sümĕ. All of these temples belong to the Manchu period.

There exist also pictorial representations of Kesar - Kuan-ti on which king Kesar is represented by the side of his steed, wearing armour and holding a halberd, accompanied by his son Kuan-p'ing, holding a casket with king Kesar's seal, and his squire holding a halberd. Kesar's magic bow and arrows given to him by his divine protector are also represented in the lower corners of such paintings. On some of the paintings of Kesar-Kuan-ti one can see the image of the Great Tibetan Reformer Tsoṅ-kha-pa (1357–1419) and of his two chief disciples, mKhas-grub-rje and rJe-tshab-rje—a sign that the ruling dGe-lugs-pa sect attempted to incorporate Kesar - Kuan-ti in its pantheon during the Manchu period, no doubt with official approval.

In Mongolia some of the dGe-lugs-pa monasteries used to perform special Kesar 'mystery plays' or Gessĕrīn cam. Such 'mystery plays' were held in the sixth month of the year in the former Dalai Coŋxor Waŋ xošun, and in the monastery of Ilaγuγsan Gegēn in Western Mongolia. The lama-participants of these 'mystery plays' represented the 32 warrior-companions of king Kesar, all clad in armour (xujăγ). Theatrical representations of the exploits of king Kesar are known to exist among the Mongols-San-ch'uan in Kansu Province (see Potanin, *ibid.*, p. 378). In Tibet proper such 'mystery plays' based on the Kesar Epic seem to be unknown. In the mounted races called rDzoṅ-rgyab žam-bes or 'Gallop behind the Fort', held in Lhasa behind the Potala Palace, the horsemen (rta-pa), clad in ancient Tibetan armour and armed with bow and arrows, are said to represent the warriors of king Kesar. In Western Tibet a festival is held in spring which is called 'Kesar Festival' in Upper Kunāwār. In Ladak it is called mDa'-phaṅ-ces or 'arrow shooting'. During the festival the gLiṅ-glu or 'Ling song' is sung, and the male population amuse themselves with arrow shooting. There are processions round the fields to bless them, the lha-tho or altars are decorated with fresh twigs and pencil-cedar is burnt (see A. H. Francke: gLiṅ-chos in Hasting's Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. VIII, p. 78*a*).

Many vestiges of ancient monuments throughout Tibet, such as stone steps on the slope of mountain passes, ruined castles (mkhar), drawings on stones, and even rocks and stones of peculiar shape, etc. are popularly said to date back to the time of king Kesar (Nicholas Roerich: 'The Sword of Ghessar Khan', *Educational Review*, December, 1936; W. Rockhill: Journey through Mongolia and Tibet, p. 165).

In 1933 Professor M. Rostovtseff ('The Great Hero of Middle Asia and his exploits', Artibus Asiae, MCMXXX/XXXII, No. 2/3, pp. 99–117, with a note by G. Roerich) drew attention to a series of Siberian and Chinese plaques in the so-called 'animal' style, representing scenes of combat, hunting and wrestling. These plaques may well represent illustrations to an ancient nomad epos, of which the Kesar Epic is a typical representative.

To sum up **the results of our survey** of the Kesar problem, we must stress the following points, the working up of which may lead to the solution of the problem:—

(*a*) The Kesar Epic in its original form represented a typical heroic epic, a poetical record of ancient wars between Tibetan and Turkish tribes.

(*b*) Tibetan Ke-sar ~ Ge-sar < Caesar, the Roman title adopted by the Kuṣāṇa kings, and then assumed by the khans of Central Asiatic Turkish tribes, through Khotan, which formed part of the Kuṣāṇa Empire. From the Central Asiatic Turks the title Kesar was adopted by the Tibetan and Tangut tribes of the North-East.

(*c*) The manuscript versions of the Kesar Epic contain more archaisms and are nearer to the primitive form of the epic than the oral versions or the printed version. The manuscript versions show definite similarities to the North-East Tibetan versions of the epic.

(*d*) The language of the epic and names of localities mentioned in the text point towards the North-East of Tibet as the place of origin of the epic.

(e) The date of the epic cannot be established, but the numerous parallels with the story of king Sron-btsan sgam-po (569–650 A.D.) indicate that the epic must have taken shape after the Imperial Period of Tibetan history. The kernel of the epic must be older.

(f) The Mongol version of the epic represents a translation from a Tibetan original. Mongol transcriptions of Tibetan proper names and names of localities show that this original must have been a North-East Tibetan version.

(g) The Burushaski version discovered by Lt.-Col. Lorimer represents a rendering of a Tibetan oral version, probably Baltī.

In conclusion it must be stressed that it is imperative to hasten the study of the Kesar Epic. The pressure of modern civilization causes the keepers of ancient traditions to retreat into the fastnesses of their mountains, and bards well-versed in the Kesar lore are only rarely met with.

SUMMARY.

For more than a century the Kesar Epic, the heroic saga of Tibet and Mongolia, had been known to students of folklore, but up to now our knowledge of the various versions of this epic, its genesis, and its influence on the epos of Tibetan and Mongolian nomad tribes had not advanced very far. Due to the inaccessibility of the Tibetan uplands, it is as yet impossible to make a survey of all the existing versions of the Tibetan epic of king Kesar of Ling. The epic is known to exist among the various tribes of the nomad belt of the Tibetan upland, and is especially popular among the tribes of the North-East: among the Amdo-was, the Goloks, the Bānaks, and the Hor-pas. The eminent Russian explorer of Central Asia, G. N. Potanin, had given us fragments of an Amdo version of the epic, and the writer of the present note has recorded fragments of yet another version current in Amdo. The late Dr. A. H. Francke has published the local Ladakī versions of the epic. In 1931 the French explorer, Madame A. David-Neel, published a French rendering of a Kham version.

The language of the epic often influenced by the spoken dialects of Tibet does not permit any deductions as to the date of the epic and of its origin. In each district the epic is being told in the local dialect, but the subject of the epic, the main episodes of king Kesar's life remain the same. A considerable difference in details is noticeable which often had been introduced from local folklore and tribal epics. The epic exists in Tibet in manuscript, oral, and printed form. The scarcity of manuscript

versions resulted in a considerable variety of oral versions. The language of the oral versions is not the classical written Tibetan, it is a style closely approaching the every-day speech of the nomads with certain archaisms. These oral versions seem to be an outgrowth of manuscript versions. The latter exhibit definite similarities to the North-East Tibetan versions, and the language of the manuscript versions points towards the North-East of Tibet and Kham. The language of the printed versions stands nearer to the classical form of the Tibetan language. The similarity of the main episodes indicates the existence of a primitive Kesar Epic which must have originated among the Tangut and Tibetan tribes of the North-East. The following stages in the evolution of the epic seem probable:—

1. The Primitive Kesar Epic—an heroic epic which originated among the Tangut and Tibetan tribes of the North-East.
2. The manuscript versions of the epic (in some of the extant versions Buddhist elements predominate).
3. The printed abridged version of the epic, edited by rñiṅ-ma-pas in Kham (Derge-rDzogs-chen dgon-pa).
4. Oral versions of the epic strongly coloured by local folklore. The Kesar Epic in its original form represented a typical heroic epic, a poetical record of ancient wars between Tibetan and Turkish tribes. In its original form the Kesar Epic must have possessed a pre-Buddhistic background, and even in the present text of the epic one finds frequent allusions to the ancient Bon faith of Tibet.

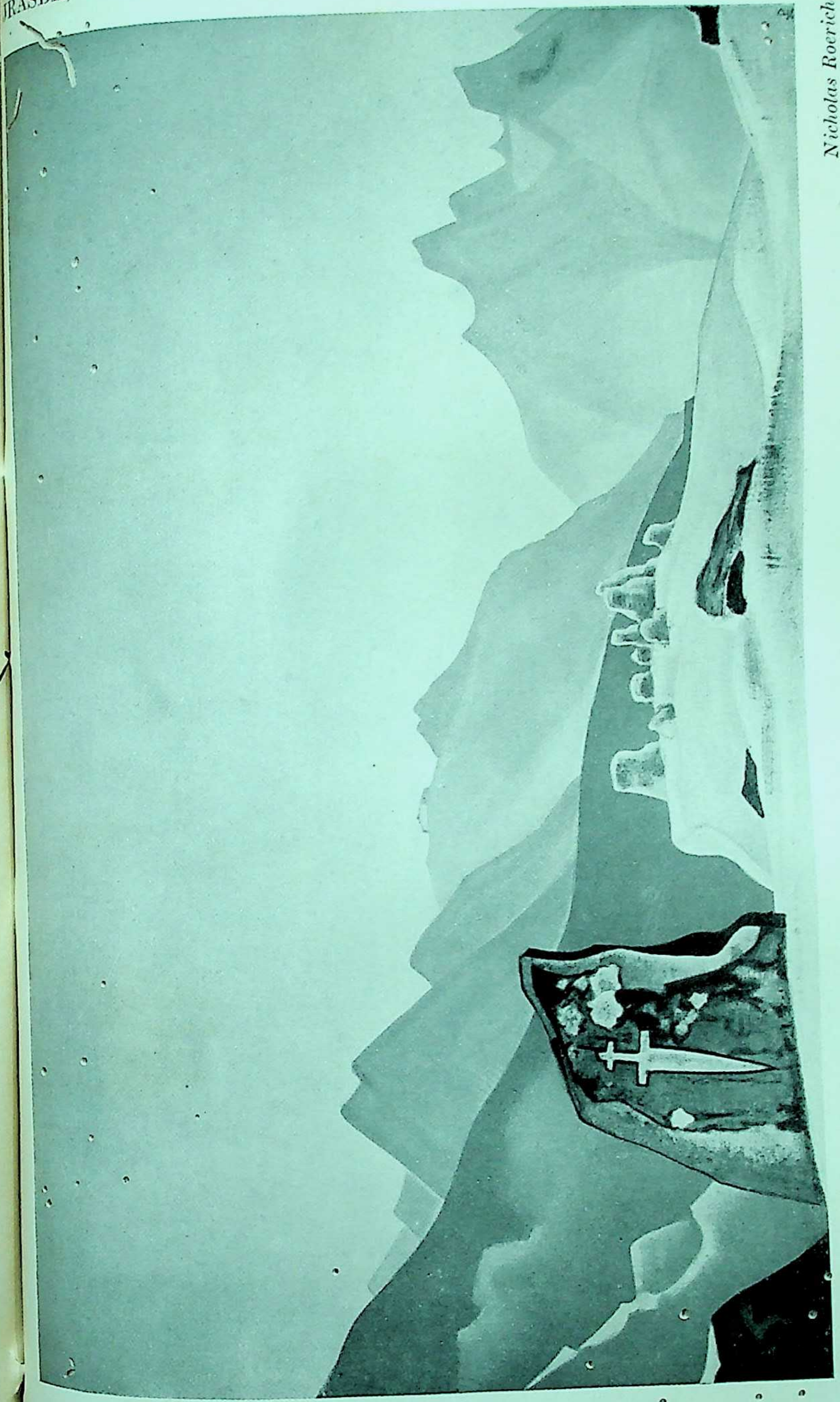
The language of the epic and names of localities mentioned in the epic all point towards the North-East of Tibet as the place of origin of the epic.

The date of the epic cannot be established, but the numerous parallels with the story of king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po (569–650) indicate that the epic must have taken shape after the Imperial period of Tibetan history, though the kernel of the epic must be older.

The Mongol version of the epic represents a translation from a Tibetan original. Mongol transcriptions of Tibetan proper names and names of localities show that the original must have been a North-East Tibetan version.

The word Kesar ∼ Gesar represents probably a transcription of the Roman title *Caesar* adopted by the Tibetan and Tangut tribes of the North-East from Khotan.

Paper received 25-9-1941.
" *published* 31-10-1942.



"The Sword of Gesar"

Nicholas Roerich

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.
Volume VIII, 1942.
ARTICLE NO. 8.

Two Clay Figures of Kesar (Gesar) and Ḥbrug-mo by a Tibetan Artist.

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.

The importance of the Saga of King Kesar (Gesar) of gLing in the life and literature of Tibet and Mongolia is sufficiently well known, and the paper on the Saga or Epic in its various forms and in its origins by Dr. George N. Roerich which is printed in the current issue of the JRASB., following the Society's recent publication of Francke's West Tibetan versions (1941), forms a valuable and an opportune contribution which has a great scientific value and is at the same time a very good introduction to the subject of the Kesar Saga for the general reader. The paucity of plastic representation of the characters of the Saga (barring the case of the few *thaṅkas* of Buddhistic inspiration and bronze statuettes of Kesar-Kuanti of Chinese origin which have been noted by Dr. Roerich and myself) contrasts strangely with the very great popularity which the story enjoys in both Tibet and Mongolia. The Kesar story exerted such a fascination on myself[1] when seeing the Francke papers through the press that I felt very anxious to obtain, if possible, pictures or statuettes relating to it, but at Calcutta among Tibetan art dealers and at Darjeeling my efforts proved unsuccessful—Kesar (Gesar) and Ḥbrug-mo (Ḍugmo) and other characters were all well known, but no one knew of pictures or statuettes. During October of last year (1941) while at Darjeeling I came upon a painter and clay-modeller from Tibet who, I was told, was commissioned to paint some of the paintings at Ghoom monastery. He told me he was from Central Tibet, from Lhasa, and that he was to come down to Calcutta to decorate with paintings a Tibetan Buddhist temple which it was proposed to build at Bhavanipur in Calcutta. I spoke to him about the Kesar (Gesar) story, and he knew it well enough; and as he said that images and pictures were not generally known in Tibet, although if any patron wished they could be ordered from the modellers and painters in Lhasa and elsewhere in Tibet, I suggested that he should execute five images in clay for me—those of Gesar, of Ḥbrug-mo, of the Giant of the North, of the latter's wife the Dzemo who bewitched Gesar, and of the King of Hor. He readily agreed to do these for me, and after a preliminary discussion, in the course of which he drew sketches for my approval, I left him to his own devices. So far he has supplied me with two figures only—the other three are not yet done, and it is very difficult to make the artist in Darjeeling fulfill his part of the contract from Calcutta. Without waiting for the other three, for one does not know when they will be ready, or whether they will ever be done at all, I am publishing pictures of the two I have so far received—those of Kesar (Gesar) and of Ḥbrug-mo (Ḍug-mo), as a pendant to Dr. Roerich's article.

---

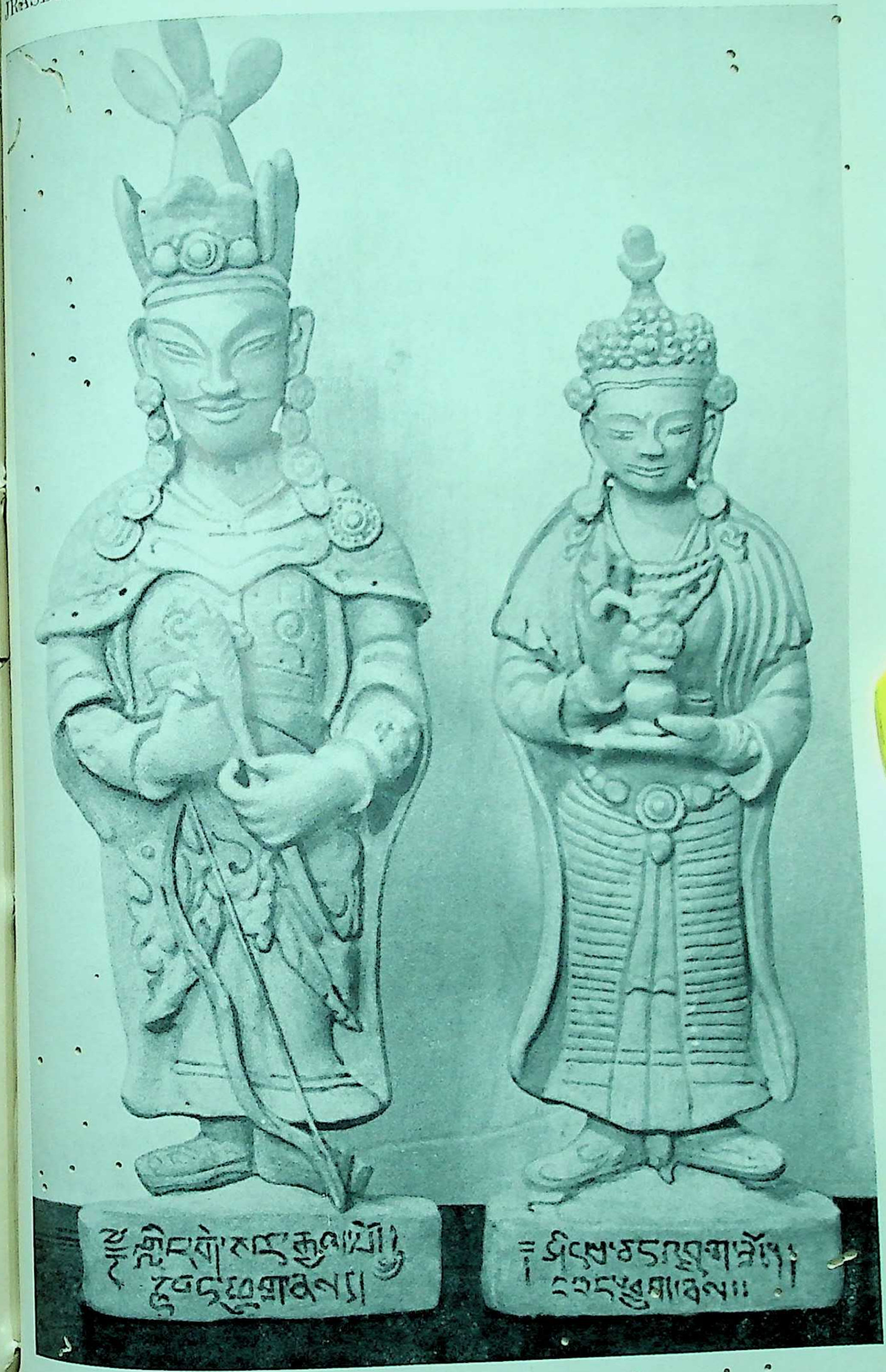
[1] I refer to my *Introduction* to Dr. A. H. Francke's 'Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga', Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1905–1941.

The artist has not been able to make a satisfactory business of it—he is more at home in Buddhistic (Lamaistic) figures, some of his Ḍol-mas (Tārās) and Chen-re-sis (Avalōkitēśvaras) being admirable. The figure of Kesar is disproportionate. It has been my experience that artists or art-workers in the line of a tradition when commissioned to do something new or out of the way generally fail, unless they are real artists and of outstanding merit. But their work, if they are not interfered with, will give an unsophisticated if crude expression of the traditional atmosphere in which they live: and that itself has its value. The present artist (or artisan) has proved himself to be no exception to this. Although not very artistic, even if they have a certain crude vigour, and comparing unfavourably with the usual run of Lamaistic images which they even now make in Tibet, these two figures will serve to give one some idea of a present-day Tibetan artist's conception of what the National Hero and Heroine of his people should look like. He has followed his own ideas in the matter of dress and accoutrements of the two figures. Kesar is dressed like a Tibetan nobleman, in a cuirass, and he carries a bow and arrow, with a ring-guard on his right thumb, and Ḥbrug-mo is a Tibetan queen or lady of rank in her costume, with a copper vessel of holy water with flowers at the top, like a good Buddhist lady. The figures are presented for the appreciation of all who feel attracted to this great story of romance and adventure,—certainly one of the great epic and romantic tales in world-literature.

The name of the artist is Padma Dbaṅ Phyug (Pe-ma Wang-Chhuk), and he has signed the two figures as *Dbaṇ-Phyug-ṇas* (= *Wang Chhuk nä*) 'by Wang Chhuk'. The inscription at the foot of the image of Kesar is *Gliṅ-Ge-sar-Rgyal-po* ('Gesar King of gLing') and that on the image of Ḥbrug-mo runs as *Śeṅs-caṅ Ḥbrug-mo* (Sheng-chang Ḍug-mo), with the artist's signature below.

The figures were exhibited, and the above note was read, before the Monthly General Meeting of the Society held on 3rd August, 1942.

***Paper received* 3-8-1942.**
„ *published* 31-10-1942.



Kesar (Gesar) and Hbrug-mo
(Modern Tibetan Clay Figures)

REFERENCE BOOK

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.
Volume VIII, 1942.
Article No. 9.

The Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb of Abū-l-Ḥasan ʻAlī al-Jullābī.

By L. S. Dugin.

During the last thirty years or so a certain amount of literature has arisen in connexion with that earliest manual of Ṣūfiism written in Persian known as the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, and an increased activity has been manifested in the East as well in re-editing that important work.

It will therefore not come amiss before directing our attention to the language, style and contents of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, and the time of its composition, those being the main objects of the present article, to take stock of its various editions and translations, and of its existing manuscripts.

The earliest edition of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* seems to be the one mentioned by Arberry in his Catalogue of the printed books in the India Office Library,[1] as: "*Kas͟hf al-maḥjūb*, by Hujwīrī. [A Ṣūfī manual], pp. 4,267, *lith.*, 25 cm., Panjābī, *Lahore* [1874]." I am unable to add anything to this summary description, as all my efforts to secure a copy of that edition proved in vain, and no copy of it is available in the libraries accessible to me. But, even the British Museum does not seem to possess any copy of it, at least Edwards[2] does not speak of any such copy, and mentions [3] only the so-called 1903 edition of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*. I say 'so-called', because in the book itself we find nowhere any indication as to the date of its publication. Why Edwards attributes to it the above-mentioned date remains obsure: it is possible that the book in question reached the British Museum in that year as a new publication, just out. Nicholson, however, whose translation[4] is based on that edition, refers to it [5] as 'the Lahore edition' without giving any date, which he would certainly have done, were the edition dated. Zhukovsky calls it 'the undated (and pretty bad) Lahore edition'[6]. Denison Ross[7] and Arberry[8] follow in the footsteps of Edwards in attributing to it a date, which probably belongs to it, but which it does not bear.

---

[1] Catalogue of the Library of the India Office, Vol. II, Part VI. Persian Books by A. J. Arberry, Litt.D., Assistant Librarian, London, 1937, p. 242.

[2] Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books in the British Museum by Edwards, M.A., London, 1922.

[3] *ibid.*, p. 113.

[4] see below, footnote 1 to p. 321.

[5] on the title-page and on pp. xxiii and xxiv of his Preface.

[6] p. 56 of the Russian Introduction to his critical edition.

[7] see below, footnote 1 on p. 323.

[8] *vide* note 1 above.

REFERENCE BOOK

Arberry describes it as: '[Another edition], pp. 328, *lith.*, 25 cm., Bhāwal Press, *Lahore* [1903].' It is difficult to say whether it is a mere reproduction (or reprint) of the earlier 1874 edition, or whether it is based on an independent manuscript. One feels inclined to think the latter supposition to be the more probable, as the natural tendency of the copyist would have been to reproduce page for page of his original, thus bringing forth a copy of approximately the same number of pages. Here, however, we find a difference of about 50 pages, the size of the page being in both cases the same.

Zhukovsky, when referring to this edition as 'a pretty bad one' is somewhat too exacting in his judgment. **Nicholson**, who took it as the base of his translation, speaks more leniently of it, when devoting to it a few words in his Preface.[1] The fact is that the book is written in an indifferent, though fairly legible *nasta'līq*-hand, and is full of clerical errors, which, however, as correctly pointed out by **Nicholson**,[2] 'are easy to amend'.

The next to appear was another Eastern edition, which was published in 1914 (= 1330 A.H.) in Samarqand.[3] Copies of it being at present far more rare than the very manuscripts of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, in fact, as the matter stands, practically unobtainable, and the very existence of the edition being virtually unknown,[4] the book deserves a more detailed description.

The size of it is, roughly speaking, 7 by 11½ in., a size never met with in European publications, but not so very uncommon in Eastern editions and, especially, Eastern manuscripts.[5] It is an extraordinarily fine specimen of lithography, which, by its clearness, and the neatness of the characters can be only compared (barring, of course, the insurmountable difference in kind and style of the handwriting) with the best lithographs of the times of **Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Shāh** of Persia, best of all represented by the beautiful editions of the diaries of his journeys to Khurasān[6] and Māzandarān.[7]

---

[1] *vide supra*, note 4 on preceding page.

[2] In his Preface, p. xxiv.

[3] By Mullā Sayyid 'Abdu-l-Majid Muftī b. Mullā Sayyid 'Abdullāh al-Mudarris al-Ḥanafī.

[4] **Zhukovsky** does not mention it either in his **Addenda**, nor in his **Corrigenda**, which were drawn up after 1914, nor does **Nicholson** refer to it in his Preface to the New Edition of his translation or in the list of Corrections appended to it. No mention of it is made either by **Edwards** or **Arberry**, so that we may take it for granted that there are no copies of it even in the British Museum or in the India Office Library. One copy of that Samarqand edition, however, is available in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, brought, several years ago, by the present writer from Afghanistan.

[5] It is quite possible that the dimensions of the page were adopted to tally exactly with the original Ms. from which the transcript for the press was made.

[6] سفرنامهٔ مبارکهٔ خراسان.

[7] سفرنامهٔ مبارکهٔ مازندران.

The writing is a bold Central Asian *nastaʻlīq.* A detailed table of contents, on four separately numbered pages, precedes the text. Three abstracts regarding the author and his work are given after the text: one from the *Safīnatu-l-Awliya* of Dārā Shukūh; the second from Haji Halfa's *Kashfu-ẓ-Ẓunūn*,[1] and the third from Vol. II of Sh. Samy-Bey's *Qāmūsu-l-Aʻlām.*[2]

The date of the publication (or rather of the completion of its printing) of the edition is given by two local poets in the shape of the usual chronograms.

Further follows a curious colophon by the editor, who explains that the work had cost him much trouble and had involved considerable expense. He, therefore, requests all future competitors to abstain from publishing any other edition of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* for a period of two years without first obtaining his special permission to do so, failing which, he threatens them with judicial prosecution.

The book ends with the statement of the name of the scribe who had copied it out for the press[3] and the date of the completion of the work of copying.

Two other Eastern editions have appeared more recently. The first of these two lithographs bears on its title-leaf the date 1923 and the corresponding Muhammadan date 1342 A.H. and is published by the same well-known firm of booksellers, Ilāhī-Bakhsh Muhammad Jalālud-Din of Lahore, who are responsible for the publication of the '1903' edition. The size of the page is more or less the same as of the two earlier Lahore editions. The number of pages is 328+1. On the outside cover the name of the press is given as 'Gulzār-i Hind Steam Press, Lahore', but on the title-page as 'Maṭbaʻ-i Islāmiyya Steam Press, Lahore'. A brief biography of the author is added at the end of the book —a feature absent in the other two Lahore editions—wound up by two circular designs, of which one gives the mystical filiation of the author (entitled شجرهٔ طریقت داتا صاحب),[4] up to the

---

[1] Haji Halfa's notice is very short and runs as follows: کشف المحجوب لارباب القلوب فى التصوّف للشيخ ابى الحسن على بن عثمان الغزنوى المتوفى سنة ٤٥٦

[2] The notice in the Turkish 'Dictionary of Names' by Sāmī Bey is also brief: پیر علی هجویری غزنه جوارنه واقع (هجویر) قریه سندن اولوپ کشف المحجوب عنوانیله بر کتاب یازمش ٤٥٦ تاریخنده لاهورده وفات ایتمشدر, i.e., 'the *pīr* ʻAlī Hujvīrī was from the village Hujvīr in the neighbourhood of Ghazna. He wrote a book bearing the title *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb.* He died at Lahore in 456'.

[3] Mīrzā Sayyid ʻAbdussalām.

[4] A footnote on p. 269 of that edition contains the same filiation under the heading شجره طیبه مصنف این کتاب مستطاب رح given in verse as follows:

Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī, and the other, with the heading شجرۂ نسب داتا صاحب, is a genealogical tree showing his descent, again from ‘Alī. This explains why **Jullābī** is called both on the cover and on the title-page ‘*Sayyid* (*sic!*) *Shaykh Makhdūm ‘Alī Hujvīrī ma‘rūf ba-Dātā Ganj-Bakhsh· ṣumma-l-Lāhūrī*’. The number of pages is the same as in the Bhāwal Press edition, but the pages themselves do not coincide in the two editions. There is little doubt, however, that the edition under discussion is a reproduction of the older edition issued by the same publishers. It is, if anything, slightly inferior

---

علی هجویری آن پیر ولایت   ز دست شیخ ابوالفضل هدایت
ابوالفضل از علی حصری گرفته   بدست خدمت اســرار نهفته
علی حصری بوی اسرار کلّی   رسید از دست ابوبکر شبلی
بشبلی از جنیـد آمد عطـائی   که در عالم شده او راهنمائی
جنید از سرّی سقطی بپوشید   لباس پارسائی را چه خوش دید
سری سقطی از معروف خرقه   به بر پوشید و شد والی فرقه
شـده معروف از داؤد طائی   چـراغ خانقـــاه و پارسائی
بداؤد از حبیب آن فتح است   . . . .
حسن بصری مرید مرتضی بود   علی را پیر کامل مصطفی بود

The above merely reproduces a marginal note found on p. 267 of the so-called ‘1903’ Bhowal Press edition (*v.s.*), in both cases referring to a mention of the name of the author in the text, where he is called جلالی (*sic*) in both the editions. In the earlier edition the last but one line has بداؤد از حبیب آن فتح کامیاب است and a blank is left in place of the second hemistich, like in the edition under discussion. The lameness (راهنمائی in l. 4) of the verses and the illiteracy of their author (سرّی instead of سری in l. 5 and سَقِطی in ll. 5 and 6) show them to be a recent concoction, probably contemporary with the appearance of the first lithographed Indian edition of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*. By شیخ ابوالفضل is, of course, meant *Jullābī*'s spiritual guide *Abū-l-Faẓl Md. b. al-Ḥasan al-Khuttalī*, who was himself a disciple of *Abū-l-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Ḥuṣrī*; see for that **Nicholson**'s Preface, p. xvii. This mystic filiation may be considered, up to a certain point, judging by the references in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* itself, as accurate. It concords, in fact, with the text of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* as far as *Ḥabīb-i Rā‘ī* (for whom see Lahore ed., p. 71 = **Nicholson**'s translation, p. 90), but no justification is found in the text for directly connecting the latter with *Ḥasan-i Baṣrī* (for whom see Lahore ed., pp. 68-69 = **Nicholson**, pp. 86-87).

as handwriting goes, and the undotted final *nūns*, inadmissible in a Persian book, hurt the eye.

The latest Eastern edition of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* appeared, as can be seen from the date on its cover (which replaces also the absent title-page), in September, 1931.[1] The size is approximately the same as that of the earlier Lahore editions. The number of pages is again 328, and again the pages do not coincide with the '1903' edition. The name of the publisher is given as: شیخ جان محمد اله بخش گتانی. The printers are: '*Rīfāh-i ʻĀmm* Steam Press, Lahore'.—Here again the title of 'Sayyid' is attributed to our author. The outward appearance of the edition is very much the same as of the already discussed previous editions.

The critical edition of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* by the late[2] Prof. V. Zhukovsky is a post-mortem edition, having appeared only in 1926. The work was begun by the great savant as far back as 1900, and in 1901 the present writer (at that time one of Prof. Zhukovsky's students) was asked by Prof. Zhukovsky to assist him with the collation of the sheets ready for print with the various Mss. used by him for the edition. That humble collaboration, however, did not materialize owing to the technical difficulties of that plan, and the work was completed by Prof. Zhukovsky single-handed a couple of years later, and printed off, together with seven of its eight Indices, as early as 1905. The exhaustive[3] scholarly Introduction (in Russian) to the edition was, however, completed and printed, as also the remaining eighth Index, only in 1914. Owing to the then prevailing circumstances, the folded, but unsewn, copies of the book remained stacked up on the premises of the Press, where it was printed, without seeing the light of publication. It was only in 1926, several years after Prof. Zhukovsky's death, that the book, to which a Russian and a Persian title-page, and two pages of a Preface were added, was finally issued.

The book has, to my knowledge, never been reviewed in India. It is equally unobtainable in this country as the above-mentioned Samarqand edition. And, being the critical edition of the work that interests us, it deserves a more detailed description.

Zhukovsky's Edition is a huge Imperial 8vo volume of 606 pages (text and Indices), plus an Introduction of 57 pages, and 7 pages Addenda and Corrigenda, i.e. 670 pages in all.

A. The text of the book is an Edition of the oldest existing Ms.[4] of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* in the Vienna

---

[1] The Muhammadan date is not given.

[2] He died of heart-failure on the 17th January, 1918.

[3] It comprises 57 pages, see below.

[4] The Ms. is undated, but seems to belong to the IX c. A.H., as supposed by G. Flügel, *vide infra*.

Imperial & Royal Court Library (at present, the National Library of Vienna) which is described by G. Flügel in Vol. III, 440, of his Catalogue.[1] Four other Mss. were used by Zhukovsky to check the readings of the Vienna Ms., and variants from them are given all through the book in special footnotes. These four Mss. were:

B. A Ms. of the XIth century A.H. in the Public Library of Tashkent, described by E. Th. Kahl in his Catalogue[2] on p. 40;

C. A Ms. in private possession secured from Samarqand, undated;

D. A Ms. of the St. Petersburg University Library, early XIth century A.H.; and

E. A Ms. of the School of Oriental Languages of St. Petersburg, described by Baron V. R. Rosen in his Catalogue,[3] p. 291 of the IIIrd part concerned with the Persian manuscripts.

The Lahore edition, which was received by the editor too late for including variants from it in the above-mentioned footnotes, was used by him only in his Addenda.

Nicholson's translation, although it reached Zhukovsky some time before his Introduction was completed, was not used by him 'even for the last pages of the Introduction'[4]: his text having been printed off long before the news of a translation being prepared by Prof. Nicholson had reached him, he, in his own words, 'preferred to remain right to the end with his own mistakes and fallacies, but outside the sphere of any extraneous influences'.[5]

Nor was the Samarqand edition, with which he became acquainted only a short time before his death, used by him in any way for his Edition.

The Indices occupy 42 pages, and are eight in number. They are as follows:

1. **Names of persons, families and tribes,** (فهرست نامهای اشخاص و انساب و قبایل). A particular feature of this most valuable Index (pp. 547–564) is that it not only contains references to the

---

[1] 'Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien', Vols. I–III, Wien 1865–1867.

[2] The Persian, Arabic and Turkish manuscripts in the Turkestan Public Library (in Russian).

[3] Baron V. Rosen. Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales, III. Les Manuscripts Persans. St. Pétersbourg. 1886.

[4] Introduction (in original), p. 56.

[5] *ibid.*

pages of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* itself, but gives (in square brackets, with distinguishing letters) the pages on which these names occur in: (A) *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā* of ʻAṭṭār, Lahore[1] ed., 1306 A.H.; (B) *Nafaḥātu-l-Uns* of Jāmī, Nassau-Lees ed. of 1859; and (C) *Nāma-i Dānishvarān*, Tehran ed., of which, at the time of the compilation of the Index, only three volumes[2] had appeared.

2. **Names of places** (فهرست نامهای جایها).
3. **Index of religions and sects** (فهرست نحل و ملل).
4. **Index of books quoted** (فهرست کتب). Two figures accompany each name of a book, showing the page and line cited.
5. **Index of verses in Arabic** (فهرست شعرهای عربی).
6. **Index of quotations from the Qur'ān** (فهرست سور و آیات قرآنی), giving chapter and verse.
7. **Index of traditions quoted** (فهرست احادیث).
8. **Index of sayings of the Elders** (فهرست اقاویل مشایخ).

In brackets are given the names of the persons to whom each particular saying is attributed by Jullābi. An asterisk indicates that no name accompanies the saying in the text.[3]

An abridged English translation of Zhukovsky's Introduction, by Sidney Jerrold,[4] appeared in 1929 in the 'Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution',[5] in which all the technical parts were omitted, 'as being of no interest to those who have not the text before them',[6] 'leaving only the literary portions of the Russian original',[7] i.e. those concerned with the person of the author and passages of interest culled from his work. These passages were, most judiciously wherever possible, not re-translated from the Russian rendering, but taken bodily from Nicholson's English version.[7] The translator has taken care to show where parts of Zhukovsky's Russian text were omitted in his translation, either indicating in brief what the omitted portion contained, or showing it by marks of omission. The translation is very carefully done, and the condensation effected with great discernment, so as not to make one feel the lacunae.

---

[1] Nicholson's edition in the 'Persian Historical Texts' series was issued in 1905 (First Part, Vol. III of the Series) and 1907 (Second Part, Vol. V of the Series), and reached Zhukovsky when the Indices to the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* had already been printed off, *v.s.* p. 320.

[2] As stated by Zhukovsky in his note to the Index.

[3] These details are given here in the hope to facilitate the use of Zhukovsky's Indices to such readers, as might come across his edition and, being unacquainted with the Russian language, would find some difficulty in using them.

[4] Persian Ṣūfism. Being a Translation of Professor Zhukovsky's Introduction to his Edition of the *Kashf-Al-Maḥjūb*.

[5] pp. 475–488.

[6] Note by E.D.R. (Sir E. Denison Ross) prefixed to the translation, p. 475, ll. 18-19.

[7] *ibid.*, l. 16.

The splendid English abridged translation by R. A. Nicholson is too well known, both in its original edition,[1] and in its recent reprint,[2] to need any detailed description. Special attention may, however, be drawn to its brief Preface containing valuable information regarding the author and his work, and its Indices, more especially the one [3] giving the technical expressions used in Ṣūfī terminology,[4] which occur in the work under discussion.

An Urdū translation, under the title ظہیرُ المطلوب ترجمه اُردو کشف المحجوب, by one *Shāh Ẓahīr Aḥmad Ẓahīrī*, appeared in 1343 A.H. (=1925 A.D.).[5] The name of the publishers is given as *Chirāghu-d-Dīn Sirāju-d-Dīn* of Kashmīrī Bāzār, Lahore.

The book consists of 544 lithographed pages of a very clear bold Indian *ta'līq*. The size of the page is somewhat larger than that of the above-described Indian editions of the Persian original. The first 22 pages contain an Urdū introduction by the translator dealing with Ṣūfīism.[6] The introduction is subdivided into several chapters, of which the first does not bear any separate heading beyond the already mentioned [7] general title. The second chapter is on 'The first man who was called a Ṣūfī'.[8] The third—on 'What is Ṣūfīism and who may be called a Ṣūfī'.[9] The fifth—on 'On the Unity of Existence'.[10] The sixth and the last contains a biography of the author of the *Kashfû-l-Maḥjūb*.[1]

---

[1] The *Kashf-Al-Maḥjúb*, the oldest Persian treatise on Ṣūfiism by 'Alí b. 'Uthmán al-Jullábí al-Hujwírí, translated from the text of the Lahore edition, compared with Mss. in the India Office and British Museum, by Reynold A. Nicholson, Litt.D., Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, and printed for the Trustees of the 'E. G. W. Gibb Memorial', Volume XVII, Leyden & London, 1911.

[2] The *Kashf al-Maḥjúb*, etc., New Edition. By Reynold A. Nicholson, etc., London, Luzac & Co., 1936.

[3] Index II, Subjects, Oriental Words and Technical Terms.

[4] The English equivalents of which are given in the text of the translation and could in future serve as a starting point for fixing in English the true meanings of Ṣūfī terms.

[5] There must have existed an earlier translation of which the one under discussion seems to be entirely independent, cf. for that also note 4 on next page.

[6] مقدمه تاریخ تصوف معه حالات پیر علی مخدوم هجویری مصنّف کتاب کشف المحجوب.

[7] *vide* preceding note.

[8] سب سے پہلے کون شخص صوفی کہلایا.

[9] علم تصوف کیا هے اور صوفی کسکو کہتے مین.

[10] مسئله وحدة الوجود.

In one passage[2] in the general part of the introduction *Jāmī's Nafaḥātu-l-Uns* is referred to, but otherwise no sources are mentioned, beyond 'some historians',[3] according to whom *Jullābī* is supposed to have been born on the 10th of *Rabīʻu-l-Awwal* of the year 400 A.H. He is also alleged to be both a *Ḥasanī* and *Ḥusaynī sayyid*.

Another Urdū translation by Mawlānā Shamsu-l-Hind Īzadī, who styles himself '*Ṣūfī-yi maʻnavī*', was published in 1346 A.H. (=1927 A.D.)[4] at Lahore.[5] This translation seems to be, as one might expect, independent of the just mentioned rendering by Moulvi Ẓahīr. The full title (on the cover) of this publication runs: کشف المحجوب اردو معه فقیر نامه مشهور به کشف الاسرار تصنیف لطیف حضرت اقدس برگزیدهٔ زمان قطب دوران جناب فیضمآب شیخ مخدوم علی هجویری معروف به داتا گنج بخش. ثم لاهوری. On the inside title-page is added the information: مع مختصر سوانحعمری (sic.) حضرت داتا گنج بخش رحمة الله علیه.. The book contains, in fact, not only an Urdu translation of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, but also a translation of the small pamphlet known as *Kashfu-l-Asrār* alias *Faqīr-nāma*, attributed (wrongly, in my opinion) to the pen of Jullābī.[6]

---

[1] شمه مختصر حالات حضرت سیّد علی هجویری.

[2] p. 4, l. 19.

[3] بعض مورخین p. 20, l. 14.

[4] Unless, of course, which is more than probable, it should prove to be a mere reprint of some earlier publication: the learned compiler of the 'Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal', which appeared in 1924, mentions, in fact (p. 552, under No. 1149), 'also a Hindustani translation', without, however, any indication as to the date or place of its publication. So far, I have been unable to trace that seemingly earlier translation of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*: the translation of *Ẓahīrī* just described cannot be meant, as it appeared a year after the publication of the 'Catalogue'.

[5] By the same publishers as the 'Bhawal Press' edition (of '1903') and the later 1923 edition of the Persian original, *v.s.* pp. 317-318.

[6] The little tract has a pagination of its own (pp. 1–16) and is preceded by a brief foreword (دیباچه) in Urdu, and, without any apparent reason or connexion by an Arabic *qaṣīda* said to be by the Fourth Imām *Zaynu-l-ʻAbidīn*. The Urdu *Kashfu-l-Asrār* seems to have been at first printed separately (copies of it can be obtained) and later included under the same cover with the translation of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*. The original tract in Persian seems to have been published three times at least, as may be seen from Arberry's (*v.s.* p. 315) mention of it. Edwards (*v.s.* p. 315) mentions only the earliest of the three editions and commits the mistake of labelling it 'stories and sayings of Ṣūfī saints, from the Kashf ul-Mahjūb'. Following in his steps, Arberry calls it 'selected passages from the preceding (i.e. from the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*)'. A cursory perusal

There is no scarcity of manuscripts of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, although **Zhukovsky** is, on the whole, right when saying[1] that 'generally speaking, they are not very common'. Since then,[2] however, a few more manuscripts of the work have come to light.[3] More to the point, even now, is his remark[4] that 'the existing manuscripts are mostly not very old'.

Taken in the chronological order they are as follows:—

1. The Vienna[5] Ms., supposed to belong to the IX c. A.H. = XV c. A.D.
2. The Paris[6] Ms., supposed to belong to the IX c. A.H. = XV c. A.D.
3. The Bodleian[7] Ms., dated 905 A.H. = 1500 A.D.,
4. The St Petersburg University[8] Ms., dated 1011 A.H. = 1602 A.D.
5. The British Museum[9] Ms., dated 1019 A.H. = 1610 A.D.
6. The India Office Ms. No. 1773,[10] dated 1019 A.H. = 1611 A.D.
7. The Tashkent[11] Ms., dated 1046 A.H. = 1646 A.D.
8. The RASB.[12] Ms., dated 1092 A.H. = 1681 A.D.
9. The India Office Ms. No. 1774,[13] dated 1095 A.H. = 1684 A.D.
10. The Berlin[14] Ms., supposed to belong to the XVII c. A.D.

---

of its first pages shows, however, that it is nothing of the kind. It is an entirely independent *risāla* attributed in its first lines to the author of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, and mentioning the latter work as completed some short time before. Yet, neither the contents, nor the style and language do in any way justify that pretension. I am inclined to consider it as a very recent forgery, probably contemporaneous with the earliest Indian edition of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*. Needless to say that no mention of such a work under the name of our author is made by *Haji Halfa*.

[1] p. 53 of his (Russian) Introduction.

[2] 1905, when he was completing the above Introduction, as stated by himself therein on p. 56.

[3] As, for instance, those in the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, see below.

[4] *ibid.*

[5] **Flügel's** Catalogue, No. 334. This is the Ms. edited by **Zhukovsky**, *v.s.* p. 319.

[6] In the Bibliothèque Nationale, described by **Blochet** (Vol. I, p. 261) under No. 401.

[7] Described by **Ethé** under No. 1245.

[8] Used by **Zhukovsky** for his edition, *v.s.* pp. 319-320.

[9] No. Or. 219, described by **Rieu** on p. 343 of his Catalogue. Used by **R. A. Nicholson** for his translation.

[10] In **Ethé's** Catalogue, used by **R. A. Nicholson** for his translation.

[11] Described in **Kahl's** Catalogue, *v.s.* p. 320 and footnote.

[12] No. 1149 in the Society's Collection.

[13] Of **Ethé's** Catalogue, used by **R. A. Nicholson** for his translation.

[14] Described by **Pertsch** under No. 247.

11. The Paris[1] Ms., supposed to belong to the XVII c. A.D.
12. The RASB.[2] Ms., supposed to belong to the XVIII c. A.D.
13. The RASB.[3] Ms., supposed to belong to the XVIII c. A.D.
14. The RASB.[4] Ms., supposed to belong to the end of the XVIII c. A.D.
15. The RASB.[5] Ms., dated 1245 A.H. = 1829 A.D.
16. The St. Petersburg[6] Ms., undated.
17. The Samarqand[7] Ms., undated.
18. The India Office Ms. No. 1776,[8] undated.
19. The India Office Ms. No. 1777,[9] undated.
20. The India Office Ms. No. 1778,[10] undated.

To the above may be added a Ms. dated 1288 A.H. = 1871 A.D., said to have been copied from a somewhat older Ms., bearing the date 1222 A.H. = 1807 A.D., in the valuable Habibganj Library.[11] There may be quite a few more Mss. scattered in other private libraries in India, Persia and Afghanistan.

It will be seen from this list that out of the total number of the existing manuscripts only three can boast of any antiquity, viz. the Vienna, the Paris and the Bodleian Mss. That antiquity is again only comparative, the earliest of these manuscripts having been written some four centuries after the author's death.

After these somewhat lengthy, but necessary, explanations, in which we have tried to summarize what is known about the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, we must turn our attention to the untranslated[12] part of Zhukovsky's Introduction to his edition.

Being chiefly concerned with Jullābī's[13] language and style, we may leave aside the enumeration of his (unfortunately lost) other works, the long list of Jullābī's sources and their exhaustive discussion by Zhukovsky, as well as the comparative list of passages in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* and in 'Aṭṭār's *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā*, showing 'Aṭṭār's borrowings from Jullābī, as given by Zhukovsky in the untranslated[1] part of his Introduction.

---

[1] In the Bibliothèque Nationale, described in Blochet's Catalogue (Vol. I, p. 261) under No. 402.

[2] No. 1150 in the Society's Collection.

[3] No. 1151 in the Society's Collection.

[4] No. 403 in the Curzon Collection.

[5] No. 1152 in the Society's Collection.

[6] In the Library of the School of Oriental Languages, described by Rosen in Vol. III, p. 291, of his Catalogue, *v.s.* p. 320.

[7] *v.s.* p. 320.

[8] Of Ethé's Catalogue.

[9] *ibid.*

[10] *ibid.*

[11] The valuable private library of the Hon'ble Nawwab Sadr Yar Jang Mawlana Habibur-Rahman Shirwani of Habibganj, which I had already the occasion to mention elsewhere, see for that JASB., Vol. I, 1935, p. 74.

[12] see note on p. 475, ll. 20–22 of S. Jerrold's translation.

[13] In the present sketch I have adopted the *nisba* Jullābī not because Zhukovsky had done so, but because both ʿAttār in his

Having, however, (to quote once more the note prefixed to Sidney Jerrold's translation by E.D.R.[2]) 'the text before us', the present writer made up his mind to translate literally all what Zhukovsky has to say on the language of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, marking in footnotes the individual cases, where he found it impossible to share the view of the great savant. Zhukovsky, however, quotes the expressions and words discussed from his own Edition. As these quotations would be of very little value to the reader, I decided to give, along with Zhukovsky's page and line, the page and

---

Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā and Jāmī in the *Nafaḥātu-l-Uns* do not give him the *nisba Hujvīrī*, which Nicholson uses all through in his translation of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, but not in his remark regarding 'Attār's mention of him (*Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā*, Nicholson's edition, Second Part, p. 27).—It is true that Dārāshukūh calls him, in his notice, حضرت پیر علی هجویری, but says further, however: و جلّاب و هجویر دو محلّه است از محلّات شهر غزنین که انتقال کرده‌اند از یکی بدیگری. Now, یکی is certainly *Jullāb*, and دیگری *Hujvīr*. He is called on the title-page of the Samarqand edition الجلابی الغزنوی. But the most convincing proof it would seem to me, is the way in which he refers to himself at the very beginning of his book, on p. 2, l. 6: قال علی بن عثمان بن علی الجلّابی الغزنوی ثم الهجویری. This statement seems to me to incorporate four distinct features: (1) that he was born and lived for some time in *Jullāb* which was a quarter of Ghazna or a suburb of Ghazna; (2) that he later (ثمّ) transferred his residence to *Hujvīr*, which did **not** constitute a part of Ghazna in any way (otherwise, he would have placed the words ثمّ الهجویری before, not after, the *nisba* الغزنوی; (3) that Dārāshukūh is wrong in saying (*v.s.*) that *Jullāb* and *Hujvīr* were both quarters of *Ghaznīn*; and (4) that Samy-Bey (*v.s.* note 2 on p. 317) is right in his statement (whatever his source might have been) that '*Hujvīr* is a village in the neighbourhood of Ghazna'.—A *nisba* is generally given to a man from his birthplace, not from places where he might have later resided, however, long. Therefore, the author of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* is to be called always Jullābī, not Hujvirī, nor Lahūrī (although he died and was buried at Lahore, and probably wrote a great part of his book in that place). Besides all that, he severally refers to himself throughout the book as من که علی بن عثمان الجلّابی‌ام.

[1] *v. s.* note 12 on preceding page.

[2] *v.s.* note 1 on this page.

line[1] of the Lahore edition of 1923 (= 1342 A.H.), as the most accessible, which involved collating first page by page the critical Edition with my copy of the said Lahore edition and marking in it the beginning of every page in Zhukovsky's text.

Before proceeding with the enumeration of the peculiarities of Jullābī's style and language, Zhukovsky stresses the point[2] that the Ms. used by him for his Edition is the oldest known,[3] and which had, quite obviously, been copied from, and collated with, another Ms. still much older, and that it, therefore, 'contains examples of rare Persian words and expressions, as well as etymological and syntactical peculiarities'; that 'in more modern manuscripts, as time goes on, these rare words and peculiarities little by little disappear and are replaced by the successive copyists with more and more modern expressions'.[4] His conclusion is that the original text might have contained, in the same way, even a greater number of archaic expressions than the old Vienna manuscript of the IX c. A.H. used by him for his Edition.[5] After dealing with the peculiarities in question, we shall see whether we can unreservedly subscribe to the views of the great savant in that respect.

Examples of the peculiarities noticed by Zhukovsky in the text of the Vienna Ms. of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* are recorded by him as follows:[6]

1. Peculiarities in spelling and alternations of sounds :

(Which can only occur in the oldest Codices). که and چه in composition with other words often lose the final *hā-i havvaz*. Thus: آنچ ، آنک ، بدانچ ، چنانک ، ازانک.

که, in whatever meaning, is often written کی.

هیچیز is used along with هیچ چیز.

نی ,, ,, ,, ,, نه.

همی ,, ,, ,, ,, می.

Instead of the spelling تلخ, one encounters the spelling طلخ [56, 15], but (L 37, 3) has, as one might have expected, the normal spelling تلخ.

---

[1] I enclose in what follows the page and line of the critical Edition in square brackets [ ], and the page and line, preceded by the letter L, of the Lahore edition in round brackets ( ).

[2] Introduction, p. 40.

[3] The Vienna Ms., *v.s.* p. 320 and note on the same page.

[4] *v.s.* note 2.

[5] *ibid.*

[6] Page and line being given according to his Edition of that manuscript.

Instead of طرقیدن - ترکیدن [121, 10], but (L 78, 14) has ترقیدن, which is a variant given by Zh. from his Ms. D[1].

Instead of از آنجا and اندر آنجا the Vienna Ms. has everywhere the spellings ازنجا and اندرنجا.[2]

ذ[3] after short vowels is not always used.[4]

The substitution of ب for و, and, conversely, of ف for پ, occurs in the following passages[5]:

نبشتن [458, 2], but [L 276, 6] has the usual نوشتن.

نبشت [233, 10], [267, 9] = (L 146, 17] and (L 166, 19), as usual نوشت.

برزیدن [51, 19; 441, 6, 9] = (L 39, 4; 266, 14, 16], where we find the usual spelling ورزیدن.

نابرزیدن [71, 9] = (L 46, 9), where we find ناورزیدن.[6]

برزش [14, 16; 19, 1)[7] = (L 10, 10; 12, 17).[8]

برزگر [14, 1] = (L 9, 23).[9]

---

[1] v.s. p. 320.

[2] Which has not been preserved in the Edition. To me it would seem rather more probable, that such a misspelling stands instead of ازینجا and اندرینجا, the contraction of the sound ī being fairly common in general, whilst the omission of a long *alif* would be rather surprising. No passages being indicated by Zh. in this instance, it is difficult to say definitely, which of the two surmises would prove to be the correct one.

[3] *i.e.* instead of the ordinary د (*dāl-i muhmala*).

[4] In Zh. Edition it has therefore not been preserved.

[5] The list does not seem to be meant as exhaustive: I take it as merely a few more salient examples of such substitutions of sounds (*v.s.* preceding page and note 2 on this page).

[6] I have intentionally avoided calling it '*usual*': the negative particle نا is normally used only in compound words, *i.e.* in combination with nouns and adjectives, *e.g.* ناگزیر، ناکس، نابکار، نامرد، ناکام، ناگاه etc., but it is only *admissible* to use it with the Infinitive and the Participles of verbs. In Standard Persian these latter combinations would be viewed with disfavour, but are very common in Tājīkī (v. my 'Stray Notes on Kābuli Persian', pp. 39-40).

[7] Zh. omits to record the case (58, 18) = (L 34, 3), where he also has برزش, but L ورزش.

[8] In the first case L has the usual ورزش, but replaces it, in the second case, by پذیرش, which might be a lapse of the copyist.

[9] Misled by the analogy, Zh. seems to have made here a mistake: the word is always spelt and pronounced برزگر, it is in that form that it also is found in L, and I have never heard, or seen in modern print (except in dictionaries), the form ورزگر.

سکواني [262, 2] = (L 163, 19).[1] But دربان [272, 4] = (L 169, 15) and ستوربان [272, 5].[2]

زفانها [148, 12] = (L 95, 12), where we find the usual زبانها.

زفانی [214, 19] = (L 135, 4) ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, زبانی.

2. Peculiar grammatical forms and constructions:

(a) of nouns :

The use of the Plural termination ان for inanimate objects:

خران [150, 14] = (L 96, 20).[3]

اندوهان [220, 16, 17] = (L 138, 17, 18).[4]

درختان [287, 16] = (L 177, 18).

کناهان [380, 16][5] = (L 229, 17, 18).[6]

A Double Plural form:

لغاتها [398, 8] = (L 240, 11).[7]

An unusual Plural form in گان : کبرکان [360, 7] = (L 218, 2)[8] (cf. E. Browne, 'Description of an old Persian commentary on the Kur'án', JRAS., 1894, July, p. 433, and تاریخ بیهق, Tehran edition of 1307 A.H., p. 388).[9]

A so far unknown form of Plural همکان from همکی : [10]

---

[1] L has, instead, an illiterate spelling سک بانی, obviously meant for سگبانی.

[2] L (169, 15) replaces the word ستوربان by امیر.

[3] Which is usual even in modern written language as well, although not in ordinary speech.

[4] Here L has in both cases اندوها.

[5] Z h. omits mentioning here that the same form occurs again in the next line of his numeration.

[6] L has in the first instance گوناهها, and in the second, same as Z h., گوناهان.

[7] L has the Arabic plural form لغات.

[8] Where L has an even more unusual گبریان (in modern speech, and even print, we would normally expect کبرها). I, personally, am not at all sure that the form in the V. Ms. should not be read گبرکان (Plural form گبرک or گبره, which both could be considered as pejorative forms of گبر).

[9] Even these two supporting quotations fail to make me change my opinion.

[10] Here I beg again to differ: the Plural of همگی may be همگنان, but همکان is certainly an unnecessary Plural formation from the simple همه, which is in itself a kind of plurale tantum.

[308, 1] = (L 188, 9)[1]; [476, 17) = (L 287, 11)[2]; along with همکنان [17, 17]. Cf. Browne *ibid.*, 493 = (L 12, 2).[3]

The oblique case particle را used with the nominative case:

.: نصاری را و رهبانانرا اندر شدّت اجتهادشان اندر مشاهده اندی [135, 2] = (L 87, 3).[4]

ویرا اندر مجاهدت شانی عظیم داشت . . . [199, 5] (cf. our[5] edition of the *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd*, Preface, p. 7, and Nicholson's edition of the *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā*, II, p. 9)[6] = (L 125, 15).

---

[1] L has instead, as would be expected, the usual همه.

[2] L replaces it by ایشان, which is one of the variants given by Zh. in a footnote of the corresponding page.

[3] L has, however, here as well, the more usual همه.

[4] L drops in both cases the را, and replaces the final unusual اندی by بودندی.

[5] Zhukovsky's.—I feel myself compelled to disagree with the late Editor: the particle را cannot be used to denote a Nominative case. What actually happens is that the author begins the sentence in one construction and changes midway into another construction: the sentence beginning نصاری را should end not as اندر مشاهده اندی but as مشاهده بودی or some such like expression. The beginning of the sentence is constructed with a Dative case. That the mistake is not that of a copyist (as supposed by Nicholson (v. note 6 on this page), who says that he 'formerly regarded them as errors of the copyist', but the author's, becomes clear from the way in which later copyists tried to straighten the sentence out by omitting the را.—The reference to the *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd* (which is slightly better as to its style than the *Kashfu-l-Mahjūb*) fails to convince me. As regards the *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā*, we shall return elsewhere to the question of its style and reasons for which, it would seem, it was adopted.

[6] In a footnote on the same page, Zh. points out, quite correctly, that the first of the examples (نقلست که مدتی احمد را آرزوی عبد الله مبارک می کرد) chosen by Nicholson (*l.c.*) is not quite to the point, احمد را being a *Dative* case used in conjunction with آرزو کردن, an impersonal expression, meaning 'to have a longing'.—To make it clear, we may point out that آرزو کردن is all through the book used by Jullābī in the same sense as, say, درد کردن is used in ordinary colloquial: احمد را پایش درد میکرد 'to A. his foot gave pain'. The above cited sentence from the *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā* could, in consequence, be roughly translated as: 'In Aḥmad there was a longing, etc.'

The same particle را occurs in combinations already preceded by a preposition in the following instances:

از برای ویرا [31, 15] = (L 21, 1).[1]
از برای خدایرا [92, 15] = (L, 67, 7)[2]; [452, 3] = (L 272, 22).[3]
بهر چرا [390, 16] = (L 235, 21).[4]
از برای باطلی را [392, 11] = (L 236, 19).[5]
از برای چرا [441, 7] = (L 248, 9-10).[6]
از برای خداوند را [436, 19] = (L 293, 19).[7]
از برای هوای نفس را [437, 1] = (L 293, 19).[8]
از کاهلی و مدد جهل را [148, 15]. Cf. Browne, *o.c.* 434, our[9] editions of the *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd*, p. 91 (ز چرا), *Ḥālāt-u-Sukhanān*, Preface, p. 5; Nicholson, *l.c.*; the British Museum Ms. Or. 249,[10] where on fol. 6 there occurs the expression از ترس خداوند را, and in Firdawsī's *Yūsif-u-Zalīkhā* (ed. by Ethé, Oxford, 1908), for instance, verse 965: از بهر یعقوب را. The same phenomenon occurs in the Iranian dialect of *Sada* (see my[9] 'Materials for the Study of Persian Dialects',[11] II. 15, 19 and 21, 37) = (L 95, 14).[12]

Whenever a word having a *ya-i vaḥdat* appended to it is syntactically connected with the following word (*not an adjective*),[13] the *iẓafa* is dropped.[14]

. . . .

---

[1] L has naturally از برای وی.

[2] L has not از برای الخ, but simply برای خدا.

[3] In L: از برای خدای.

[4] In L بهر is dropped.

[5] L drops the را.

[6] v. preceding note.

[7] v. note 5.

[8] v. note 5.

[9] Zhukovsky's.

[10] The Ms. bears no title and the name of the author is not mentioned. It contains the biographies of *Abū-Saʿīd b. Abī-l-Khayr* and of *Abū-l-Ḥasan Kharaqānī*.

[11] In Russian, and, so far, not yet translated.

[12] L has this passage in the following form: گروهی از مترسّمان مر کاهلی دهد و جهل را بدان احرار الخ.

[13] The italics are Zhukovsky's not mine.

[14] That peculiarity does not belong to the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* or its Vienna Ms., but is a peculiarity of the Persian language at large: how an unaccentuated *yā* could be followed in Persian by *an iẓafa*, I cannot imagine. I, therefore, omit the several lines of examples cited by Zhukovsky in this place and proceed with the next paragraph of his Introduction.

The very frequent use of the Dative case in را, mostly indicating an aim, where in more modern language preference is given to the prepositions: برای, به, در etc.:

این جمله آنرا کفتم تا [36, 4] 'all that I said in order to . . .' = (L 22, 12-13) [1];

این کتاب مر آنرا ساختم که [5, 20] 'this book I compiled so that . . .' = (L 5, 3).[2]

امید آنرا تا [53, 13] 'in the hope that . . .' = (L 35, 7).[3]

مر آن معنی را که [66, 16] 'in that sense that . . .' = (L 43, 3).[4]

ازین ده امام معروف مر تصوّف را یکی وی بوده ست [132, 14] 'of these ten imams known in the *taṣavvuf*, one was he . . .' = (L 85, 8-9).[5]

مر عزّ اسلام و نجات تنها و رضاء خداوند تعالی را [157, 9] 'for the honour of Islam, and the saving of bodies and the satisfaction of God, exalted be He . . .' = (L 100, 19-20).[6]

Arabic *maṣdars* and participles, whether used singly or in combination with Persian auxiliary verbs, demand an oblique case:

نسبت و اضافت همه خلق مر هر چیز را بخود. [42, 3] = (L 27, 16-17).[7]

رد و هجر مشایخ ویرا [190, 10] = (L 120, 8).[8]

---

[1] L has این جمله برای آن کفتم تا.

[2] L drops مر and replaces تا by که, thus: من این کتاب آنرا ساختم که.

[3] L adds a که before تا, thus: امید آنرا که تا.

[4] Here L fully coincides with the Edition.

[5] The same in L with the exception of the verb at the end, which is here, instead of وی بوده ست, — ویست.

[6] L replaces مر by از برای, but has preserved the را, thus: از برای عز اسلام و نجات تنها و رضای خداوند را.

[7] The را which is essential in the example is preserved in L, but the sentence appears here in a slightly modified form: و نسبت اضافت خلق مر همه چیز را بخود.

[8] L has اورا instead of ویرا, but otherwise coincides with Zh.'s quotation, but his own text has بیضاوَرد (with vocalization as indicated) which would seem to point not to the well-known city of *Bayẓā*, but to some other locality of the name of *Bayẓāvard*. Zh., however, corrects it later in his list of misprints into بیضاوَرد.

آن یکی حفظ بنده مر احکام ظاهر را بر خود و دیکر حفظ حق مر احوال باطن را بر بنده [499, 17] = (L 300, 16-17).[1]

لباس جامع مر کلّ مقامات طریقت و فقر و صفوت را [63, 16] = (L 41, 9).[2]

مر حقّ را منکر شد (33, 5] = (L 21, 20).

جمله منکرانند مر عزیزان حضرت حقّ جلّ جلاله را [104, 14] = (L 68, 18).[3]

منکر نیند مر کمال فضل و صفاء حال و کثرت اجتهاد و ریاضت ویرا [190, 4] = (L 120, 4-5).[4]

مر جهل خود را معتقد بود [186, 15] = (L 118, 3-4).[5]

مر نفی تخصیص انبیا را اعتقاد کند [304, 5] = (L 186, 9-10).

Along with it and even in connection with the same words, we meet with prepositional constructions, for instance, منکر with بر and به:

[105, 9] = (L 69, 7),[6]
[125, 2] = (L 80, 17),
[190, 7] = (L 120, 6),
[542, 20] = (L 326, 6), etc.

A similar construction, where the oblique case is governed by a Persian word having the meaning of an Arabic participle is also met with:—

مر حجاب آنرا . . . . خریدار کشته [7, 17] = (L 6, 6).

مر حجاب خود را . . . . خریدار آمده [10, 3] = (L 7, 18).[7]

An extremely curious use of the combination ازانِ with a view to avoid repeating the same word:

---

[1] L inserts باشد between بنده and مر, آن before دیکر, but otherwise coincides in wording with the text of the Edition.

[2] L only differs by adding است to جامع : جامعست.

[3] L omits جلّ جلاله.

[4] L has منکروی نیند, but has اورا instead of ویرا.

[5] L has the more modern باشد, instead of بود.

[6] The Edition has بر ایشان, but L has بد ایشان.

[7] L coincides with the Edition, except that it has آمد و instead of the final آمده.

فرق میان انک .... و ازانِ آنک [487, 14] = (L 293, 11).[1]

فرق باشد میان بندهٔ .... و ازانِ بندهٔ .. [491, 8] = (L 295, 14-15).[2]

Comparative and superlative degrees formed from nouns:

هرکه نیکو خوتر وی صوفی‌تر [44, 6] = (L 29, 3-4).[3]

دوستر دوستان [59, 2] = (L 38, 15).[4]

زاهدتر از تو هرگز ندیدم [104, 3] = (L 68, 11).

دوسترین زنان [318, 15] = (L 194, 19).

دشمنترین دشمنان [260, 15] = (L 162, 15).[5]

In the compound verb دوست داشتن 'to love, to like, to be fond of' دوست very often stands in the comparative degree:

[466, 7] = (L 281, 3).
[515, 3] = (L 310, 15).
[546, 1] = (L 328, 5).

Degrees of comparison in nouns have been observed by us[6] in ordinary modern speech as well, *e.g.* این ازان خرتر است. Cf. Browne *o.c.*, 434, Nicholson *o.c.*, II. 9, and in the *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd*, 468, 10: هزاربار مریدتر.

---

[1] L has, naturally, in both cases, آنکه, and replaces از آنِ by the more intelligible میانِ.

[2] Here the expression ازانِ has been preserved even in L.

[3] L has only, instead of نیک‌خوتر - نیک‌خوئی‌تر, which offers a second example of the comparative degree formed from noun نیک‌خوئی being a noun derived from the adjective نیک‌خو. Here I may add that in Persian there does not exist such a strict distinction between nouns and adjectives, as we are used to see in Latin and Greek and in the Roman and some Germanic languages.

[4] The Edition has و اندرین معنی دوستر دوستان ابوحامد مروزی بود ست (with a variant given in the footnotes درست‌تر), but L has: و اندرین معنی درست‌تر ابوحامد دوستانی مروزی بوده است, which gives more sense and is more in accordance with the general theme of the chapter.

[5] دشمنترین دشمنان is, in my opinion, good Persian, the more so as it is here a mere translation of the well-known Arabic saying ascribed to the Prophet أَعْدَى عَدُوِّكَ نَفْسُكَ الَّتِى بَيْنَ جَنْبَيْكَ

[6] They are very common, both in modern speech and print. cf. also note 3 on this page.

The comparative degree (even in its Arabic form) is constructed, as is generally usual, with از ، کہ, for instance:

[21, 5] = (L 14, 5).[1]
[24, 9] = (L 16, 6).[2]
[453, 13] = (L 273, 19).[3]

But there are cases where it occurs also with a simple *iẓāfa*:

مجهولتر همه قوم [109, 3] = (L 71, 7).[4]

این اعزّ آن [320, 10] = (L 195, 19).[5]

The final ت and د in words taking the comparative degree are dropped before the comparative degree termination:

سختر [21, 3; 243, 14; 521, 9] = (L 14, 2; 152, 15; 314, 21).[6]
بلنتر [77, 15] = (L 50, 9).[7]
بتر [288, 3] = (L 177, 22).[8]
دوسترین [397, 17] = (L 240, 3).
دوستر passim, although the full form is used as well:
دوست‌تر [453, 13] = (L 273, 19).
سست‌تر [468, 18] = (L 282, 19).

One cannot pass under silence the incomprehensible addition of the preposition بہ to adjectives used as adverbs:

---

[1] The Edition has: و اندر دوزخ خیمه زدن نزدیک فاسق دوستر کی یک مسئله الخ, whilst in L the passage runs: و اندر دوزخ خیمه زدن دوست‌تر ازان بود بر فاسق که یک مسئله از علم بکار بستن.

[2] Edition: فاضلتر کی فقر, L: فاضلتر است از فقر.

[3] The passage runs: و سهل بن عبد الله رض کفت شکم پر از حر دوست‌تر دارم که پر از طعام حلال; in L the pious formula is omitted and گوید substituted for کفت.

[4] L, however, has مجهول از همه.

[5] L has, however, این اعزّ ازان بود.

[6] In all these cases L has سخت‌تر.

[7] The Edition has: و خود بر بامی بلنتر رفتند, whilst the wording in L is: و خود بر بام بلندتر از من بر شدند.

[8] L has, of course, بدتر.

غنا مرحق را نامیست بسزا . . . . و فقر مر خلق نامیست بسزا [241,
15][1] = (L 16, 11).[2]
و بدرست ولی اند [303, 16] = (L 186, 5).[3]
وصال بآشکارا کرد [418, 13] = (L 252, 17).[4]
بناحوب [452, 11] = (L 273, 5).[5]

The Adverb in a sentence is often placed anywhere:
عظیم کاری شگرفست [252, 6] = (L—).[6]

The frequent use of verbal nouns (= the Infinitivus apocopatus)[7] and abstract nouns derived from the Past Participle[8]:

شناختِ آب [12, 5] = (L, 9, 1).[9]
پذیرفت شریعت [18, 18] = (L 12, 16).
گزاردِ امر [29, 5] = (L 19, 9-10).[10]
یافتش را هرگز نایافت نباشد [46, 3] = (L 30, 6-7).
از کفت بی‌کفت شدم [356, 4] = (L 215, 21-22).
کفتِ بی دید [466, 7] = (L 281, 3).[11]

---

[1] An obvious misprint: the sentence occurs [24, 14-15]. It runs there as follows: 14 غنامر 15 حق را نامیست بسزا . . . . و فقر مر خلق را نامیست بسزا.

[2] L has the same except that in both cases there stands نامی بسزاست. I must add here that, although بسزا is an adjective, سزا itself is a noun, and becomes an adjective only by the addition of the preposition به (or a prefix, as it may be). This example, therefore, does not answer the purpose.

[3] L has also بدرست, which is strange, but must be attributed to the Persian illiteracy of the author (of which we shall speak later) and to the mechanical copying of the text by the successive scribes, whose Persian, probably, was of the same kind as that of the author's.

[4] L has آشکارا.

[5] See note 2 on this page.

[6] L has not got a part of the sentence, the copyist having jumped over a phrase beginning پس آنچه to another beginning پَس آن.

[7] Which is in reality the stem of the Past Tense.

[8] By means of a *yā-yi maṣdar*.

[9] L has, however, شناختن.

[10] L has از گذاردن امر او.

[11] L has دیدار instead of دید.

فراکفتی آید [466, 11] = (L 281, 6).[1]
داشت وی [477, 8] = (L 287, 17).[2]
کستکی [147, 13] = (L 95, 2).
رسیدکی [147, 17; 390, 18] = (L 94, 4; 235, 25).[3]
کذاشتکی [254, 1] = (L 258, 20).
سیر خوردکی [419, 18; 420, 1, 2] = (L 253, 10-11; 253, 11, 12).

Pronominal suffixes are added to nouns ending in a long vowel directly, without the usual connecting *yā*:

دستهاش [145, 16] = (L 93, 15).[4]
انتهاش [209, 16] = (L 132, 4).[5]

They occur in a similar combination with the conjunction تا:

تاش برکزیدند [466, 13][6] = (L—).[7]

In two of the Mss. used for the Edition there occurs an example of the particle را admitted after a pronominal suffix:,

روا باشد که بدوستی مخصوص کرداندشان را [266, 18][8] = (L 166, 12).[9]

Examples of a pleonastic use of pronominal suffixes occur in the following phrases: آنرا کی نامش از حق فقیرست اکرچه امیرست فقیر است [27, 15] = (L 18, 9-10).

کار مریدانی باشد کی ویرا از مکابرهٔ شهوت و موانست هوا باز ستاندش [102, 16] = (L 67, 15-16).[10]

---

[1] L has بگفتار آید.

[2] L has داشت حق, as also given in Edition as a variant occurring in another of the Mss. used by **Zh.** instead of داشت وی.

[3] L has in the first instance رسیدن (which is also given as a variant in the Edition); but in the second instance رسیدگی.

[4] L has دستهایش. I may add that دستهاش would be good colloquial Persian in modern speech.

[5] L has انتهایش. *v.*, for the rest, the preceding note.

[6] The numeration in **Zh.** Introduction is not correct: the words occur in (466, 3-4).

[7] In L the words کفت تاش برکزیدند are altogether omitted.

[8] Thus in the footnote, as variant, the text of the Edition has, however, no *rā* after کرد اندشان.

[9] L most unexpectedly has گرداندشان را.

[10] L has مریدان, and بود instead of باشد.

Here we must not omit mentioning the use of دیکر یک instead of the simple دیکر:

و نهایت یکی بدایت دیکر یک باشد [234, 8] = (L 147, 17).[1]
یکی مقیان و دیکر یک مسافران [443, 2] = (L 263, 13).[2]

It is very characteristical that the subject, when in Plural, and the predicate, whenever the latter consists of a noun with a verbum substantivum, are made to agree:

علماء غافل آنان باشند که [19, 19] = (L 13, 8).
فنقراء مداهنین آنان باشند کی [20, 7] = (L 13, 14).[3]
صوفیان آنانند که [42, 12] = (L 28, 2).
ما ممتحنانیم [92, 12] = (L 61, 5).[4]
دوازده کروهند و ازان دو مردودند [164, 8] = (L 104, 22).
آنان کی کافرانند [256, 16] = (L 160, 15).[5]
پس اولیا کواهانند [279, 19] = (L 173, 19).[6]
ایشان رسیدکانند [288, 10] = (L 178, 4).[7]
آنان کی محفوظانند [307, 6] = (L 187, 23).[8]
دوسترین کسان .... مستهلکانند و مقهوران [397, 17-18] = (L 240, 3-4).
پنج حواسّ سپاه سالاران علم و عقلند [415, 4] = (L 250, 17).[9]
این قوم کیانند [536, 18] = (L 322, 21).[10]

---

[1] L has دیگری, which in my opinion (the final *yā* being a *yā-yi vaḥdat*) is equivalent to دیکر یک.

[2] In L the یک is simply omitted.

[3] L has, on the contrary: امّا قراء مداهن آن باشد.

[4] L has محتاجانیم, which changes the sense, but does not change the construction.

[5] L same, but the spelling is آنانکه کافرانند.

[6] L same, but the spelling is گواهان اند.

[7] L has another wording, which, however, does not affect either sense or construction: ایشان رسیدگان باشند.

[8] Here, however, L has the more usual آنانکه محفوظ اند.

[9] L same, but the auxiliary verb is written separately: عقل اند.

[10] L has گروه instead of قوم.

(*b*) **In verbs:**

The particle of continuity می is often placed in the sentence anywhere, sometimes very far from the verbal form to which it belongs:

می نفی وجود نمود [33, 15] = (L 22, 5).[1]
می طریق معاملت کنی [73, 13] = (L 47, 15).[2]
می بهتر از وی طلب کردم [193, 18] = (L 122, 8).[3]
ورا می انسان خوانند [248, 5] = (L 155, 11).[4]
عجمی را می بریاضت عربی زبان کنند [253, 17] = (L 158, 18).[5]
می بمجاهدت بدان محلّ رسانند [254, 1] = (L 158, 20).[6]
می بچندین آفت مبتلا دارد [264, 5] = (L 164, 22).[7]

The particle می is equally used with the Imperative, the Future, the Perfect Tense and the Pluperfect:

می مبین [76, 5] = (L 49, 10).[8]
برین قیاس میکن [283, 5] = (L 175, 10).[9]
می خواهند بود [268, 13] = (L 147, 17).[10]
میخواهمت دید [301, 10] = (L 185, 5).[11]
می بستده‌اند [408, 6] = (L 246, 15).[12]
می زده بودند [536, 12] = (L 322, 17).[13]

With the Pluperfect even the *yā-yi ḥikāyat* is used:

جرمی کرده شده بودی [57, 3] = (L—).[14]
پیش نهاده بودی [460, 13] = (L 277, 18).[15]

---

[1] L has نفی وجود می نمود.

[2] L, however, has instead: اگر دعوی ملامت میکنی.

[3] L has بهتر از وی طلب میکردم.

[4] L has ویرا انسان میخوانند.

[5] L has the particle prefixed to the verbal form: میکنند.

[6] In L the text is slightly corrupt: بجاهده بدان محل رسانند.

[7] L omits the می.

[8] L omits the می.

[9] see the preceding footnote.

[10] see the preceding footnotes.

[11] L has exactly the same wording, and I cannot see how it could have been expressed otherwise.

[12] L has می.

[13] L omits the می.

[14] L omits the whole sentence here quoted.

[15] L has اندر پیش نهادی.

The presence of the particle می or همی does not exclude the possibility of using at the same time the *yā-yi ḥikāyat*:

می یافتمی [76, 16] = (L 49, 17).[1]
همی بودی [76, 17] = (L 49, 17).
می بودی [150, 5] = (L 96, 14).[2]
می خواندمی [447, 3] = (L 269, 19).
میکردمی [447, 4] = (L 269, 19).[3]
می نمودندی [511, 2] = (L 308, 1).

In verbal forms the particle می may stand before the negative particle, and, in verbs compounded with prepositions, before the preposition:

می نیاری [12, 17] = (L 9, 9).[4]
می ندهید [31, 19] = (L 21, 3).
می نه بیند [43, 13] = (L 28, 17).
می نگریست [403, 17] = (L 244, 1).[5]
می برکشی [59, 5] = (L 38, 17).[6]
می برخیزد [248, 6] = (L 155, 11).[7]

The particles می and همی can stand along with the particle به:[8]

همی بشناسیم [7, 20] = (L 6, 8).
می بباید [193, 12] = (L 122, 4).[9]
می بستانند[10] [408, 4] = (L 246, 15).[11]
می بدارید [475, 10] = (L 286, 14).[12]
می بساوم [519, 10] = (L 313, 16).[13]

---

[1] L omits the می. [2] See the preceding note. [3] See note 1.

[4] L omits the می, and changes the verb عمل نکنی, like in one of the variants cited in the Edition.

[5] In L the *negative* particle is omitted.

[6] L omits the می and uses the Past Tense چرا برکشیدی.

[7] L drops the می.

[8] The sense of it being just the opposite of the particle می (or همی): continuity versus finiteness.

[9] L omits the particle به: میباید.

[10] This is an obvious misprint: the text of the Edition has می بستاندند.

[11] L has می بستدند.

[12] L drops the particle به and changes to the 3rd person: میدارند.

[13] L drops both the particle می and the particle به: بساوم.

The particle بِ, which sometimes is pronounced بُ (بُباید [144, 14] = (L 74, 16)[1], can be tacked on before a negative particle of a verbal form:

بنتوانی [222, 11] = (L 139, 19).[2]
بنگردد [333, 4] = (L 202, 21).[3]
بنیفتد [407, 3] = (L 246, 4).[4]
بنخورد و بنه خفت [417, 15] = (L 252, 6).[5]
بنکشت [487, 2] = (L 293, 2).[6]
بنشود [545, 1] = (L 327, 14).[7]

The particle بِ occurs before the Infinitive and the Past Participle of verbs as well:

دست بداشتن [71, 9; 243, 15] = (L 46, 9; 152, 15).
بدانستن [34, 3] = (L 22, 10].[8]
بفروخته [172, 14] = (L 109, 14).[9]
بشولیده [546, 2] = (L 328, 6].
بشده [494, 2] = (L 297, 6].
ببوده [401, 8] = (L 302, 1) (cf. Firdawsī, *Y.* & *Z.*, 886 and *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd*, p. 8, Intr.) also in forms containing the *yā-yi ḥikāyat*:
بایستادی [282, 17] = (L 175, 7).
برفتی [282, 17] = (L 175, 7).
بستدی [417, 14] = (L 252, 5).
بیامدندی [511, 1] = (L 307, 17).

---

[1] L has simply باید.

[2] L omits the particle and has simply نتوانی.

[3] L has another verb altogether, without نه: بیندازد.

[4] L has simply نیفتد.

[5] L has only the negative particle.

[6] L reverses the order of the two particles, which is equally un-Persian: نه بکشت.

[7] L has only the negative particle.

[8] L omits the particle: دانستن.

[9] L omits the particle: فروخته.

The negative particle نه (with the Infinitive also نا):

(نا طلبیدن [47, 20] = (L 31, 9).
نا کردن [48, 1] = (L 31, 9).
نا خفتن [459, 5] = (L 276, 22).
نا کفتن [466, 7] = (L 281, 3)).

stands sometimes quite far from the verbal form to which it belongs:

هیچ چیزی ندیدم که نه حق را اندران بدیدم [112, 1] = (L 73, 1).[1]
اگر نه رعونت طبع و ضلالت عقل بر شما مسلّطستی [115, 11] = (L 75, 7).[2]
کی وی نه بخداوند تعالی جاهل بود [176, 17] = (L 111, 19).[3]
هیچ کس نیست کی نه شیطان ویرا غلبه کرد ست [262, 16] = (L 164, 5).[4]

(Cf. in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Guzīda*, Gibb Memorial Series XIV, 1, p. 769: اگر نه شهوت بودی غفلت بر خلق ظفر نیافتی).

The omission of the personal termination in all, except one, verbs of the same form, standing next to, or near by, each other in a sentence (*v.* Short grammar of Modern Persian by Salemann & Zhukovsky, p. 44,[5] and cf. Nicholson, *o.c.*, II, 10).

The examples of such omission are ever so many:

طبع را از ادراک معانی بپرداختند و حدیث حق بینداخت [65, 15] = (L 42, 13-14).
می خوردند و پوست بر سر من می انداخت [77, 18] = (L 50, 10-11).[6]
رمیدند و بایستهای خود نهفت و . . . . بستند و پاسبان بر گماشت [93, 19] = (L 62, 2).[7]

---

[1] L has . . . . که حق را اندران ندیدم

[2] L has مسلط بودی instead of مسلّطستی, but otherwise its wording fully coincides with that of the Edition.

[3] L fully coincides with the Edition, except the spelling of the initial کہ, which is spelt in the usual manner.

[4] L fully coincides with the Edition, except that هیچکس is written in one word, and کرده است in two.

[5] Quoted from the Russian edition of 1890, which is a translation by the joint authors themselves of 'Persische Grammatik mit Litteratur, Chrestomathie und Glossar', von Carl Salemann und Valentin Shukovski, Porta linguarum orientalium, Berlin, 1889, 8° min. Unfortunately, I have not got to hand that little book to give the parallel quotation from the original.

[6] L has می انداختند.

[7] L has all in ordinary Plural: برگماشتند، بستند، نهفتند.

اندران شهر راه یافته اند و صورت این طریق را قبیح کردانیده [218, 4] = (L 137, 5-6).[1]

توبه کردم و باز کشت [227, 13] = (L 143, 10).[2]

نامت از دیوان سعدا پاک کردیم و در دیوان اشقیا ثبت کرد [240, 10][3] = (L 151, 13-14).[4]

و جملهٔ محقّقان مجاهدت اثبات کرده‌اند و آنرا اسباب مشاهدت کفته [252, 13] = (L 158, 3-4).[5]

من تهمت از راه توکّل برداشته‌ام و آن را از وحشت حرص نکاه داشته [300, 15] = (L 184, 18).

نقّلان خود کتب ساخته‌اند و بسیاری جمع کرده [303, 5] = (L 185, 20-21).

آن کروه رسیده‌اند و یافته و بفرمان دعوت باز آمده [304, 10] = (L 186, 12).[6]

آنانکه از رنج مجاهدت رسته باشند و . . . . جسته و . . . . برسیده و . . . . بدیده و . . . . بشنیده الخ [312, 13] = (L 191, 6-7).

کتابی ساخته‌ام و . . . . نام نهاده [333, 9] = (L 203, 1-2).[7]

آلت اظهار الحاد خود ساخته‌اند و . . . . نهان کرده [333, 14] = (L 203 4-5).[8]

عاجز شدیم و از همه باز ماند [354, 16] = (L 215, 5-6).[9]

چون طعام پیش آوردندی بخوردی [413, 11] = (L 249, 18).[10]

طرفی از مقامات بیان کرده‌ام و میان حال و مقام فرقی کرده [484, 17] = (L 291, 21).[11]

کفته اند و شنیده [517, 14] = (L 312, 14).[12]

---

[1] L has اند after گردانیده.

[2] L has باز گشتم.

[3] An obvious misprint: the sentence occurs [241, 10-11].

[4] L has in Singular پاک کردم and نبشتم (instead of ثبت کرد).

[5] L has the last verb in the usual form گفته اند.

[6] L has at the beginning ایشان instead of آن کروه.

[7] L has نام کرده شد instead of نام نهاده.

[8] L omits even the اند after ساخته.

[9] L has باز ماندیم.

[10] L has بخوردندی..

[11] L has نهاده‌ام instead of the final کرده.

[12] L has شنیده اند.

اکر مزامیر دیو شنیدندی .... دیدی [525, 14] = (L 317, 18).[1]

کراهیّت داشته اند و .... پرهیز کرده و .... غلو نموده [535, 13] = (L 322, 8).[2]

An unusual way of expressing the Subjunctive Mood by forms of the Past Tense with a final *yā* tacked on[3] (cf. our[4] edition of the *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd*, Introduction, p. 7)[5] (there also occurs in a passage, if it is not a mere error made by the copyist of the V. Ms., that, instead of the Subjunctive Mood, as would be expected, simple Future Tense is used):

چون .... خواهد کی .... خواهد نهاد [208, 17] = (L 131, 14).[6]

چیزی معلوم نداشتیم که بتو فرستادیمی [92, 12-13] = (L 61, 5).[7]

نیامده‌اند کی .... نکریستندی و .... بخریدندی و .... بکزیدندی
و .... برسیدندی و .... ببریدندی [105, 10–13] = (L 69, 8–10).[8]

اهل نیافت تا نشر کردی [149, 5] = (L 96, 1).

پیوسته من دوست داشتمی که کرسنه بودمی و نصیب خود بدیکر دادمی [242, 1] = (L 151, 21).

بایستی تا همه مؤمنانرا کرامت بودی [271, 4] = (L 169, 3).

بایستی تا پیغامبر را بودی [271, 9] = (L 169, 6).

پیش ازانک بزمین آمدی [310, 1] = (L 189, 16).[9]

---

[1] L has مزمار instead of مزامیر, and دیدندی instead of دیدی.

[2] L has instead of it: کراهیت داشته‌اند و مریدانرا حذر فرموده‌اند و خود پرهیز کرده اندران غلو نموده‌اند.

[3] Which seems to be, as far as I can see, a *yā-yi* (*sharṭ-u-*) *jazā*, with the *yā-yi sharṭ* omitted in the protasis, and the *yā-yi jazā* preserved in the apodosis.

[4] Zhukovsky's.

[5] My own copy of the *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd* being irretrievably lost, and copies of it being unavailable in the Calcutta libraries, I am unable to say to what this quotation refers. It may be added, by the way, that a reprint of Zhukovsky's Edition has been published recently in Tehran, but I have not seen it.

[6] The sentence in the Edition runs: چون حق تعالی خواهد کی عوان بچهٔ را تاج کرامت بر سر خواهد نهاد. In L, however, the wording is as follows: چون حق تعالی خواهد تا عوان بچهٔ را تاج و مملکت دهد, which seems to be less corrupt than the passage in the Edition.

[7] L has چیزی معلوم نداشتم که بتو فرستادیم.

[8] L omits نیامده‌اند and has all the other verbs of the sentence in Participle form: نکریسته، خریده، برگزیده، رسیده، بریده.

[9] L has آنکه and می‌آمدند.

13B

محتاج نبود تا بوده کشتی [360, 19] = (L 218, 10).[1]
خوردندی تا بزیستندی [420, 6] = (L 253, 16).[2]
نزدیک بود که دین برمن تباه شدی [476, 6] = (L 287, 4).[3]

The *yā* of '*condition and consequence*' (*yā-yi sharṭ-u-jazā*) used in connection with forms of the Aorist and of the verbum substantivum, and with the 2nd Person of the Past Tense (cf. *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd*, p. 7 of the Introduction[4]; Browne, *o.c.*, p. 435, and Nicholson, *o.c.*, pp. 7-8):

اکر دین کریبان کیر ایشان کرددی تصوّف بهتر ازین کنندی و . . . . بندارندی
و . . . . ننکرندی و . . . . کنندی [17, 12–15] = (L 11, 22-12, 1).[5]
اکر نه آنستی . . . . ازیشان این نکشمی [78, 2-3] = (L 50, 11-12).[6]
اکر نه رعونت طبع و ضلالت عقل برشما مسلّطستی سخن ازین سنجیده‌تر کوییدی
[115, 11] = (L 75, 7).[7]
اکر بقاضی الحاجات عالمستی از جون خویشتنی حاجت نخواهدی [131, 17] =
(L 84, 18).[8]
اکر بعمل بی علم بدو راه باشدی نصاری را . . . اندر مشاهده اندی [135, 1]
= (L 87, 3).[9]
اکر اندر دوزخ . . . مکاشفندی . . . یاد نیایدی [138, 1] = (L 89, 2-3).[10]
اکر بحقیقت بشناسدی ازین سرای فانی بکسلدی [189, 3] = (L 119, 13).[11]

---

[1] L omits the words تابوده کشتی.

[2] L has خوردند تا بزیستندی.

[3] L has: شرد instead of شدی.

[4] See footnote 5, p. 344.

[5] The text in L seems to have been somewhat corrupted by the copyist in his effort to straighten out some of the forms unfamiliar to him. It has anyhow, at the beginning: اگر دین گریبانِ ایشان گیرندی تصرّف بهتر ازین کنندی, and further: کنندی ، ننکرندی ، ندادندی.

[6] L has نکشیدمی.

[7] L has (as already pointed out in footnote 2, p. 342. مسلط بودی instead of مسلّطستی; بخته تر instead of سنجیده‌تر, and گویندی instead of کوییدي.

[8] L has وابستی instead of عالمستی, and نخواستی instead of نخواهدی.

[9] L has عمل instead of بعمل, یافتی instead of باشدی, نصاری instead of نصاری را, and بودندی instead of اندی.

[10] L has مکاشف بودندی and یاد نیامدی.

[11] L has بشناختی, omits فانی and has بگسلیدی.

اکر دوام آن روا نباشدی نه محبّ محبّ باشدی...... [225, 17] = (L 142, 5).[1]
اکر بینندی برهندی [231, 10] = (L 145, 14).[2]
اکر من با ایشان نباشمی ... مغرور شوندی [259, 19] = (L 162, 10-11).
اکر عجب صورت کیردی آنجا بایدی کی [352, 10] = (L 213, 22).[3]
اکر کافران بدانندی ... نجات یابندی [375, 13-14] = (L 226, 17-18).
اکر عاصیان بدانندی نجات یابندی و ... طاهر شوندی [375, 14] = (L 226, 18-19).[4]
و اکر نیستی ایشان نکنندی [520, 1] = (L 314, 3).[5]
و از روی جواز جایز باشدی که این هر یک اندر همه اعضا شایع باشدی [509, 2] = (L 306, 11).[6]
اکر ... سماع کنندی از همه آفات آن برهندی [526, 10] = (L 317, 17).
اکر خود را ندیدئی و همه عالم را بدیدئی [134, 7] = (L 86, 12).[7]

With the forms of the Aorist there also occurs the *yā of desire* (or 'optative' *yā*—یای تمنّا) (after کاشکی):

کاشکی ما ازین سماع سربسر برهیمی [528, 10] = (L 318, 17).[8]
کاشکی برهدی [528, 12] = (L 318, 19)[9] (cf. examples from the *Taẕkiratu-l-Awliyā*, Nicholson, *o.c.*, 10).

Here we may add an example of a similar combination, which is, however, hard to explain:

من بخواب دیدم که قیامتستی و جملهٔ خلق اندر حسابکاهندی [115, 15] = (L 75, 9-10).[10]

---

[1] L drops in both cases the final *yā*, and has نباشد and باشد.

[2] L drops the اکر, and has simply نمی بینندی برهندی.

[3] The text in L coincides in everything with the Edition (except the spelling که instead of کی), but the د (*dāl*) in گیردی looks suspiciously like a و (*vāw*), which might be explained by the copyist failing to understand what he was writing.

[4] L has شدندی instead of شوندی.

[5] L has another wording: اگر حلال نبودی ایشان نکردندی.

[6] L has in both cases simply باشد.

[7] L drops the superfluous *yā* in both cases.

[8] L has برستمی.

[9] L has کاشکی برابر برهیدی.

[10] L drops the initial من; has قیامت است and اندر حسابگاه قایم اند.

A form of the Imperative, made more emphatic by means of adding an *alif* at the end:

مه ایستیدا (corresponding to the Arabic فلایقفن) [227, 17] = (L 143, 12).[1]

The formation of the simple Future by means of the ordinary Infinitive, instead of the infinitivus apocopatus:

ورا بخواهم کشتن [411, 5] = (L 248, 8).[2]

Forms of the Past Tense, wherein the verbum substantivum stands before the Participle, and the negative is attached to the former (cf. A short Grammar of Modern Persian by Salemann and Zhukovsky, p. 54).[3]

پس کرفتاریست فتاده همیشکی [30, 4] = (L 20, 1-2).[4]
ویرا اندر غیب کاری افتاده نیست [399, 11][5] = (L 241, 7).[6]

The use of apocopated Past Participles:

کرد از ناکرد اولیتر داند [330, 3] = (L 201, 10).[7]
ناکرد از کرد اولیتر داند [330, 4] = (L 201, 10).[8]
همیشه بود [501, 9] = (L 302, 1).

The use of rare forms—3rd pers. Plur. of the Aorist and the Pluperfect from the verb بودن and imparting to it the meaning of 'to become', by prefixing to it the particle ب:

بوند [27, 17; 76, 4; 261, 11; 369, 17; 386, 2; 452, 18] = (L 18, 11[9]; 49, 9[9]; 163, 11[9]; 223, 15[9]; 233, 3[9]; 273 6[10]).
بوده بود [132, 13; 194, 7; 318, 9; 417, 18] = (L 85, 7[11]; 122, 13[11]; 194, 15[12]; 252, 8[12]).
بوده بودند [318, 11] = (L 194, 16).[13]

---

[1] L has نه ایستد.

[2] L has این را instead of ورا، and کشت.

[3] v.s. footnote 5, p. 342.

[4] L has: پس کاری فتاده همیشگی.

[5] The original has [499, 11], an obvious misprint.

[6] L has نه افتاد است, which is also quite un-Persian.

[7] L has in both cases the full Infinitive form.

[8] v. preceding note. Here the final داند is omitted.

[9] L has باشند.

[10] L has بود.

[11] L has بوده.

[12] L has بود.

[13] L has simply بودند.

سدیکر خاطر ببود [502, 10] = (L 302, 16).[1]

نبوده و پس ببوده [501, 8] = (L 302, 1).

The formation of the Passive by means of the verb آمدن:

داشته آید [89, 11] = (L 58, 19).

کفته آمده است [174, 5][2] = (L 110, 9).

In the case of a verb compounded with an Arabic *masdar* it is admissible to complement the latter by a whole sentence:

طلب قوتی که ازان چاره نیست میکنم [286, 15-16] = (L 177, 7).[3]

Finally, we may mention an incomprehensible form کفتا, which has been preserved by us[4] in the text:

دو پیر بودند یکی مسعود نام و یکی شیخ ابوعلی سیاه کفتا [418, 3] = (L 252, 10).[5]

(*c*) In Prepositions and Adverbs.

Prepositions can be omitted, the examples of such omission, are, however, few:

جائی[6] خفته باشد [297, 9] = (L 182, 18).

The Preposition بی is very often accompanied by the complementary Preposition از (cf. Browne, *o.c.*, 439):

بی از آنکه [4, 7, 8-9; 126. 15; 168,[7] 2; 225, 3; 365, 9, 15; 418, 9] = (L 4, 5, 6[8]; 81, 18; 106, 22[9]; 141, 12; 221, 3, 7; 252, 14).

---

[1] L omits ببود.

[2] The original has [184, 5], which is an obvious misprint.

[3] In L the wording is: طلب قوتی میکنم که ازان چاره نیست.

[4] Zhukovsky.

[5] L has گفتندی, which does not make the matter clearer. That latter form is also recorded by Zh. as a variant in a footnote on the respective page. Out of curiosity, I looked up the passage in the Samarqand edition (p. 391, 8-9), where, however, no form of the verb کفتن is found, and where the text runs: در مرو دو پیر بود یکی مسعود نام و یکی شیخ ابوعلی سیاه رحمة الله علیهما مسعود بدو کس فرستاد که الخ.

[6] I find it good Persian and, I think, the addition of any preposition where *place*, not *direction* is meant, would have made it unidiomatic.

[7] The original has [165, 2], an obvious misprint.

[8] In L 4, 6 the copyist has jumped over a whole line and added it afterwards in the margin. That marginal addition has, however, بی آنکه.

[9] L has بی آنکه.

But also:

بی آنکه [225, 8; 327, 5] = (L 141, 16; 199, 18).

With the Arabic بعد *after*, the Preposition از is, on the contrary, placed before and an *iżāfa* is used to connect that combination with what follows (by analogy with the Persian (از پسِ):

از بعد آن [144, 9; 212, 12; 418, 19; 494, 4] = (L 92, 19; 133, 16;[1] 252, 20; 297, 7[2]).

از بعد آنک (آنکه) [81, 10; 82, 19; 99, 11; 175, 1; 339, 13; 383, 18; 546, 5] = (L 52, 19[3]; 54, 1[3]; 65, 12; 110, 19; 206, 15;[4] 231, 14; 328, 9).

از بعد این [325, 1] = (L 198, 13).

The Adverb باز *again* used as a Preposition (cf. Nicholson, *o.c.*, 13):

باز جای خود آمد [207, 1] = (L 130, 8).[5]

باز دنیا آیند [344, 9] = (L 209, 7).[6]

رجوع شان باز آن مقام اصلی خود بود [484, 16] = (L 291, 20).[7]

The Preposition با *with*, used in the meaning of به *to, in*:

با تون کر ما به اندر آمدم [77, 2] = (L 49, 20).[8]

آمدم با سر مقصود [251, 15-16] = (L 157, 13).[9]

با سر معاملات رویم [374, 3] = (L 225, 22).[10]

باز کردی با دنیا [389, 13] = (L 235, 7).[11]

با سر معاصی نشود [461, 16] = (L 278, 10).[12]

---

[1] L has بعد ازان.

[2] L has از پس آن.

[3] L omits بعد.

[4] L has از بهر آنکه.

[5] L has here (I should say, correctly, from the point of view of Standard Persian) باز بجای خویش آمد: in this case the verb denotes action, and direction is implied by it, whilst in the case discussed above (p. 348, footnote 6), the verb denotes state, and place is meant.

[6] L has باز آیند بدنیا, cf. preceding note.

[7] L has بدان instead of باز آن.

[8] L has بتون.

[9] L has بر سر.

[10] L has بر اسرار معاملات آیم?

[11] L has, of course, به دنیا.

[12] L has بر سر معاصی نروم.

A *yā* of indefiniteness (*yā-yi vaḥdat*) is admissible in connection with an Adjective used adverbially:

بر روی آب خوشی برفت [109, 5-6] = (L 71, 9).[1]

* * * *

Here we may record some archaic or rare words and combinations, which may be useful from the point of view of Persian lexicography. They are as follows:

آرزو خواستن *to express a wish, to wish:*

وقتی آرزو خواستم [163, 2] = (L 104, 4).[2]

آرزو کردن *to excite somebody's desire, something* (Nomin. case) *to be wished by somebody* (Dat. case):

ابن عمر را ماهی آرزو کرد [238, 14] = (L 149, 23).

آنک آرزو کند ویرا [239, 5] = (L 150, 6).[3]

For further examples of such a construction, see *Asrāru-t-tawḥid* 89, 9, 14; *Tazkiratu-l-Awliyā*, Nicholson's edition, I, 109, 17; II, 11 (*v.s.* p. 330, footnote 6), and also the old British Museum Ms. Or. 249, dated 698 A.H., ff. 7^r, 10; 8^v, 5, 6.

آسان یاب, *easily obtainable, easily found* [399, 4] = (L 241, 2).

آکاهانیدن, *to inform, to let know* [224, 7] = (L 141, 2).

آماسیدن, *to burst* [121, 10; 403, 13] = (L 78, 13; 243, 21).

اسلام پذیر *receptive to Islam* [506, 14] = (L 305, 4).

امیدوار in the meaning of *a promising person, on whom one can rely*:

مر پدر را خلقی نیکو و امیدوار ست [215, 7] = (L 135, 8-9).

اندوهکن *sad, sorrowful* [59, 11; 139, 4] = (L 38, 21[4]; 89, 16[5]).

---

[1] L has an entirely different wording: و بر روی آب دریا بگذشت.

[2] L has بآرزو.

[3] L coincides with the Edition, except the spelling of آنکه.

[4] L has اندوه گینان.

[5] L has اندوهگین.

باور داشت *faith, confidence* [143, 2; 374, 1] = (L 92, 3; 225, 20[1]).

باور و استوار داشت *faith and affirmation* [146, 8] = (L 94, 4).[2]

برک *possibility, power* [202, 9] = (L 127, 12).[3]

برینش (from بریدن) *cutting, cutting off* [261, 15] = (L 163, 14).[4] The root برین has been preserved up to our days in Iranian dialects, see my[5] ‘Materials for the Study of Persian Dialects’, I and II s. v. بریدن.

بزه‌کار *sinful* (in combination with the verbs کردن، شدن and کشتن): [74, 18; 75, 1; 537, 15; 538, 4] = (L 48, 11, 13; 323, 7, 12).

بساوش *rubbing, touching*: [509, 2] = (L 306, 10).[6]

بسودن (Imper. بساو) *to rub, to touch*: [263, 15; 415, 4; 509, 9, 10; 519, 5, 10, 13; 530, 3] = (L 164, 17; 250, 17; 306, 15, 16; 313, 14,[7] 16; 314, 1; 319, 13).

بشولانیدن *to disturb, to trouble*: [373, 7] = (L 225, 15).[8]

بوده کشتن *to become, to come into existence*: [311, 16; 360, 19] = (L 190, 17; 218, 10).[9]

بیوس *expectation*: [127, 12; 273, 8] = (L 82, 6;[10] 170, 6[10]).

---

[1] L has باور دارد. It seems to me as if **Zh.** had misunderstood the construction: we have to do here not with compound noun باور داشت, like in the preceding case, but with the verb باور داشتن in the 3rd Person Sing. It is immaterial, whether in the Present (as L) or in the Past (as Edition) Tense.

[2] L has only باور داشت, omitting the استوار.

[3] L has an entirely different wording (the copyist having probably misunderstood the sentence) and has ترک instead of برک.

[4] L has تربیتش.

[5] Zhukovsky's.

[6] L has here, somewhat indistinctly, an Arabic equivalent لمس, and it is obvious that the scribe wrote at first some other, and longer, word, then licked it off whilst it was still wet (which accounts for the above-mentioned indistinctness or smudge) and wrote on that place the word لمس, the *sīn* of which he made as long as permissible, still leaving a little blank space after the preceding word.

[7] L has شنیدن instead of بسودن.

[8] L has توکّل من تباه شود instead of توکّل مرا بشولاند.

[9] L omits here the sentence تا بوده کشتی, which occurs in the Edition.

[10] L has هوس.

پای داشت *firmness, steadfastness*: [187, 15] = (L 118, 17).

پسنده‌کار and پسندکار *contented, satisfied*: [10, 2; 48, 18; 54, 16; 63, 13; 188, 1; 503, 7) = (L 7, 18; 32, 1; 35, 22; 41, 7; 118, 20; 303, 4).

پسنده‌کاری *content, satisfaction*: [220, 19] = (L 138, 20).

پسنده *sufficient*: [315, 1; 374, 3; 402, 9; 423, 15; 449, 14] = (L 192, 14; 225, 21; 243, 3; 255, 18; 271, 11).

پیوندانیدن *to attach, to join*:

عنایت ازلی را بدو پیونداند [396, 18] = (L 239, 14).

چخیدن[1] *to commit oneself, to have to do with somebody, to be connected with somebody*: [300, 10] = (L 184, 15).

چون خود *like oneself*[2]: [346, 2; 358, 4] = (L 210, 7; 216, 22).

چون خویشتن[2] *like oneself*: [131, 18; 467, 9] = (L 84, 18; 281, 20).

بحاصل آمدن. *to follow, to result*: [264, 2; 379, 14; 498, 8-9] = (L 164, 21;[3] 229, 2;[4] 299, 4[5]).

بحاصل شدن. (same meaning): [267, 17] = (L 167, 5).[6]

حضرت *the capital* (*city*): [110, 14] = (L 72, 7).

خنده ستانی *mockery, jeering*: [76, 14] = (L 49, 15).[7]

خوار داشت *contempt, disdain*: [310, 16] = (L 190, 5).

خواستن *to wish, to desire*, is constructed with the apocopated Infinitive:

---

[1] **Zhukovsky** adds here 'and جحیدن', which is, of course, an impossible form, as the *ḥā-yi ḥuṭṭī* can only occur in Arabic words. Thinking it to be a misprint in **Zh.'s** Introduction, I, at first, corrected it into جخیدن, which could be a variant (or an early Ms. spelling) of the above چخیدن, and is also found in dictionaries. Yet, the text of the Edition (p. 348, 14), as also L (p. 211, 19) have جحد, the whole sentence being: و چون می بینم که گروهی از عاقلان بدو جحد و انکار کنند '*when I see that a group of wise men deny and reject it*'. I, therefore, omit the second quotation under this heading.

[2] I must confess that I am at a loss to find anything archaic or peculiar about that expression.

[3] L has حاصل گردد.

[4] L has حاصل شود.

[5] L has حاصل آمد.

[6] see note 4.

[7] L has simply خنده, omitting ستانی.

برون خواست شد [199, 1] = (L 125, 12).[1]
درست نخواستی کرد [203, 12] = (L 128, 7).[2]
در خواب خواستی شد [460, 13] = (L 277, 18).[3]
باز خواستم کشت [472, 18] = (L 285, 4) cf. Firdawsī, *Yūsif u Zalīkhā*, v. 866, 1671, and *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd*, 285, 10.

دانستن in the sense of *to be able, to understand*:

پرداند دوخت [55, 12] = (L 36, 10).[4]
سخنان طریقت بدانیم شنید [55, 17] = (L 36, 18-19).
فرق دانی کرد [545, 6] = (L 327, 18).[5]

درگاه گرفتن *to devote oneself entirely*: [212, 10] = (L 133, 15-16).

دست (باز) داشتن *to take off one's hands, to abstain from something, to refuse*, is constructed either, in the usual way, with the Preposition از, e.g.:

[80, 3] = (L 51, 20).
[97, 5] = (L 64, 1).
[156, 1] = (L 100, 1-2).
[293, 16] = (L 180, 19);

Or with an oblique case, with را or without; or with an *iżāfa*:

ناکردنی را دست بداشتم [14, 11] = (L 10, 6).[6]
حکم رعایت را دست [7] بندارندی [17, 13-14] = (L 11, 22-23).[8]

---

[1] L has, instead of it: میرفت.

[2] L has نخواهی, which considerably changes the meaning, نخواهی کرد being a mere Future.

[3] L has: و چون بخواب اندر خواستی شد.

[4] L has: برداند دوخت, which seems to be a better reading: in the Edition anyhow پر is marked with an asterisk.

[5] L has: فرق توانی کرد.

[6] L has: و از ناکردنی دست باز داشتم.

[7] In **Zh.'s** Introduction: بنداری, but in the text of the Edition بندارندی.

[8] L has a slightly different wording: و حکم رعایت را از دست ندادندی, giving the sentence just the opposite meaning.

بعضی از فرایض بکند و بعضی دست باز دارد [381, 5] = (L 229, 22—230, 1).[1]

بعضی از نوافل دست بدار [391, 2] = (L 236, 2-3).

فریضه دست بدارد [416, 6] = (L 251, 8).[2]

دست بداشتنِ جملهٔ حظوظ نفسانی [42, 5] = (L 27, 18).[3]

دست بداشتنِ ریا [71, 9] = (L 46, 9).[4]

دست بداشتنِ مشغولی خلق [72, 5] = (L 46, 18-19).[5]

دست بداشتنِ محبوب خود [243, 15] = (L 152, 15).[6]

That construction with an *iẓāfa* has been noticed in the *Taẕkiratu-l-Awliyā* by Nicholson, *o.c.* 18, but he does not mention the construction with the oblique case in را, although examples of it occur there: II, 325, 5.

دشواریاب *hard to find, rare*: [166, 9] = (L 106, 2).[7]

دنک *small coin*: [287, 14] = (L 177, 17).[8]

راندن بِر *to ascribe, to attribute to something*: [325 2, 3, 7, 17] = (L 198, 13,[9]–16, 199, 2[10]).

معنی (or به) راندن بِر *to understand* (or *interpret*) in the sense of:

اکر بِران معنی رانی کی [169, 4] = (L 107, 13).[11]

چون بِمعنی دیکر رانی [41, 15] = (L 27, 11-12).

---

[1] L puts از before بعضی in the second instance.

[2] L has و از فریضه.

[3] L has باز داشتن, but does not otherwise differ from the Edition.

[4] L has از ریا.

[5] The wording in L is different: ترک جاه و دست بداشتن از ریاست, instead of ترک جاه و ریاست و دست بداشتن الخ, as in the text of the Edition.

[6] L has از محبوب.

[7] L has: دشوار یافته شود.

[8] L has دانگی, which is also one of the variants given in a footnote in the Edition.

[9] Omitted in L.

[10] L has: گروهی بِرآنند, which is probably a slip of the pen, since the copyist has faithfully reproduced the preceding instances occurring in the Edition.

[11] L has an unintelligible: و اگر بِران بدانی که.

راه خوردن in the meaning of راه زدن *to attack, to cut the way:*

بروی راه خوردند [154, 3] = (L 99, 1)[1].

رعایت کردن بر *to respect, to maintain, to preserve:*

بر اقامت مذهب وی رعایت میکرده است [323, 12] = (L 197, 18-19) (such a construction must have originated under the influence of Arabic, where the Proposition على or ب would have been used).

روزکار مرد *a man of (his) time, a man of prominence:* [306, 4] = (L 187, 9).[2]

زکوة کزارد *the fulfilment of the zakāt:* [405, 8] = (L 245, 1).[3]

سبک داشت *disrespect, disdain, inattention:* [144, 18] = (L 93, 5).

سران *head-side, top-side* (opp. پایان):

یکی بر سران وی و یکی بر پایان وی نشست [240, 11] = (L 151, 1-2).[4]

سلام کری *greeting, salutation:* [466, 14] = (L 269, 14-15).[5]

سوار بودن *to be prominent, to excel in something:*

اندر علوم ظاهر و باطن سوار بود [185, 8] = (L 117, 4).[6]

شکسته *a small part; something; a trifle:* [137, 12] = (L 88, 18).[7]

شنوانیدن *to make hear; to inform:* [27, 4 ; 279, 9 ; 400, 3] = [L 18, 1; 173, 12; 241, 15).

---

[1] L has زدند.

[2] L has حجت روزگار بوده است, instead of عجب روزکار مردی بوده است of the Edition, where, in a footnote حجت is also given as a variant for عجیب.

[3] L has the Infinitive in its full form: گزاردن.

[4] L has: یکی بر سر گاه وی نشست و یکی بر پایگاه وی.

[5] L has سلام گوئی, which the Edition also gives as a variant from two different Mss.

[6] L has سواره.

[7] The original has [132, 12], which must be a misprint, as the word is found not on p. 132 of the Edition, but on p. 137. L has here: نان شکسته 'a broken loaf'.

صوفی کری *being a Sūfī; professing Sūfīsm:*

صوفی کری کردن . . . . دعوی [172, 12] = (L 109, 13).[1]

عزیز روزکار *a man of good life:* [299, 12; 318, 3] = (L 184, 5; 194, 11).

عزیز نفس *a good-natured man:* [318, 3] = (L 194, 11).

فتادن *to fall.*

تا کسی درینجا نفتد [184, 8] = (L 116, 14).[2]

کرفتاریست فتاده [30, 4] = (L 20, 1).[3]

فتنه *captivated, charmed, in love:* [170, 14] = (L 108, 12). cf. Nicholson, *o.c.*, II, Pref. 22.

فرا *to; in:* [123, 7; 126, 12; 137, 12; 151, 6; 179, 6] = (L 79, 18; 81, 16; 88, 18;[4] 97, 5; 113, 11[5]).

فرا کفت آمدن *to start talking:* [466, 11] = (L 281, 6).[6]

قضا کرده *fated, predestined:* [490, 10] = (L 295, 2).

کامل حال *perfect as to state, or life* [515, 3] = (L 310, 15).

کدواده is generally given in dictionaries '*the building of a wall, or of a house.*[7] *Jullābī* (in the Vienna Ms.) uses it twice:

کدوادهٔ بلا [59, 12] = (L 38, 22).[8]

کدوادهٔ اصفیا [504, 2] = (L 303, 13).[8]

---

[1] L has تصوّف instead of صوفی گری, which would have been more to the point in the context.

[2] L has: تا کسی اندرین نیفتد.

[3] L has: پس کاری فتاده.

[4] L has here: بوی دادم instead of فرا وی دادم, as in the Edition.

[5] L has بمن داد instead of the فرا من داد of the Edition.

[6] L has بگفتار آید.

[7] I find in Steingass '*foundation of a house*'; Ánaṇdraj gives the meaning: بنای خانه و عمارت and mentions the existence of another form of the same word کولاده, of which he says: نیز بمعنی بنیان خانه است, which fully coincides with Steingass' explanation: Zh. must have been misled by the somewhat vague meaning of بنا, if by 'dictionaries' he means some Persian '*Farhang*'.

[8] L has گهواره.

But in both cases all the other Mss. have instead of it گهواره 'cradle'. There arises the question whether the former word was not used by *Jullābī* in the meaning of the latter, which possibility is fully justified by the context.[1]

که used in the sense of بلکه: [176, 9;[2] 461, 2] = (L 111, 13;[3] 277, 23[3]).

گانه *small: trifling; one only:*

درم گانه [80, 12] = (L 52, 6).[4]

دینار گانۀ [127, 4] = (L 82, 1).

گرای کردن[5] used impersonally in the sense '*to be worth while*':

گرای گفتار او نکند [2, 7] = (L 2, 17).[6]

---

[1] The question may be left open.

[2] In the original p. 176, l. 8

[3] L has بلکه.

[4] L omits گانه.

[5] In the original گرا کردن stands after کامل حال (not after کدواده, as one would have expected, the order followed in Zh.'s list being alphabetical), the confusion having seemingly arisen through the absence of the second *sarkash* (never used in older Mss. and not used even in our days in Persia, except in dictionaries). The word گرای (with a *yā*) was mistaken for گرا (with an *iẓāfa*), in the sense of '*hire*'. The word is, of course, as I would say, un-Persian (see for that my 'Stray Notes on Kābulī Persian', pp. 83–86 s.v. *karā, karāh* and *karāhī*. گرای کردن is also un-Persian even in two ways: in the first instance it is a case of verb splitting' (as described by me, *ibid.*, p. 28), it being used instead of the verb گرائیدن or گرایستن, which verb, with a somewhat uncertain meaning, does not seem to have even been current in Persia proper. We find it in dictionaries, and P. Horn records it in his 'Neupersische Schriftsprache' (in the 'Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 742, l. 25) with the meaning '*neigen zu*, etc.', i.e. '*to incline, to be inclined*'.

[6] In L the sentence is hopelessly muddled: که گرای گفتار نام او نکند, i.e. '*whose name a decent person will not mention*'. The sentence, however, could be translated, in my opinion: 'whose name I am not inclined to disclose' (for such impersonal turns of sentence v.s. what Zhukovsky himself has to say s.v. آرزو کردن.

For the same expression used in a personal form, v. *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd* 287, 3 and *Nafaḥātu-l-Uns* 319, 6 [1] (= *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, 301, footnote 36).[2] Cf. also *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*:

ترا کرا نکند که . . . . دهی [409, 10-11] = (L 247, 12)[3].

گرد پای (*sitting on the floor*) *cross-legged*: [433, 19] = (L 261, 21)[4]; cf. *Asrāru-t-tawḥīd* 270, 15.

گسلانیدن *to tear off, to break off*: [396, 18] = (L 239, 15).

گفتن بچیزی *to declare, to decide upon something, to take a stand on something*:

بترک معاضه بکفته [22, 8] = (L 15, 1).[5]
بترک اسباب ظاهری و باطنی کفته اند [22, 15] = (L 15, 6).
چون طالب بترک ملکیّت بکفت [28, 10] = (L 18, 19-20).[6]
بترک آن بکوید [30, 18] = (L 20, 12).[7]
بفنای کلی کویند [43, 1] = (L 28, 8).[8]
بترک جان عزیز خود بکفت [45, 7] = (L 29, 18-19).[9]
بقبول طریقت بکوئی [52, 18] = (L 34, 18).[10]
بترک شریعت و متابعت آن بکوید [71, 7] = (L 46, 7-8).[11]
بترک سلامت خود بکوید [74, 3] = (L 48, 1).[12]

---

[1] The original has p. 319, l. 5 (i.e. of the Nassau Lees' edition), which is a misprint.

[2] The footnote in question gives a sentence added in one of the secondary Mss. used by Zh., which runs as follows: که شخصی کرای آن نکند آنرا زیارت نکند (var. کنند).

[3] L has گرائی.

[4] L has پای دراز کرده نشسته بود, as against کرد پای نشسته بود of the Edition.

[5] L drops the Preposition.

[6] L has ملک, insteadof ملکیّت, which is also one of the variants given in the Edition.

[7] L has: ترک آن گیرد.

[8] L has: که فنا کل گویند.

[9] L drops the Preposition.

[10] L has کوشی, instead of گوئی, which changes entirely both the construction and the meaning of the sentence.

[11] The wording in L is different: تا بری از شریعت نماند و ترک متابعت آن پیش گیرد.

[12] *v.s.* note 5.

REFERENCE BOOK

بترک مشغولی دنیا بکفبت [149, 17] = (L 96, 10).[1]
بفرمان خدای بکوید [278, 14] = (L 173, 4).[2]
بترک کلوخ کفتن راست نیاید [289, 6] = (L 178, 12).
بجواز تجربت بر ذات باری تعالی بکویند. [304, 2] = (L 186, 7).[3]
بقدم ارواح بکویند [361, 1] = (L 218, 11).
بترک علم بنت لبون هم نشاید کفت [407, 1] = (L 246, 3).[4]
باستغراق علم کفتن [497, 14] = (L 299, 8).

Such a construction is also encountered in the old Persian commentary on the Qur'ān, described by Browne, *o.c.* (بتقلید کوید 507), although the author of the article does not mention it in his description. Numerous examples can be found in the *Asrāru-t-Tawḥīd*, *e.g.* 268, 3, 16; 283, 5.

گویانیدن *to make tell:* [466, 1, 3] = (L 280, 20;[5] 281, 1).
ماناکه *probably:* [148, 16] = (L 95, 14).
ماندن *to leave:*
با هر کسی بمقدار سرمایهٔ وی چیزی بماندی [120, 8] = (L 77, 20).[6]
بمان [121, 12] = (L 78, 15).[7]
عیال را چه ماندی [289, 9] = (L 178, 15).[8]
محاویدن *to destroy, to throw away:*
طلب صفاء باطن را از دل بمحاویده [35, 13][9] = (L 23, 13-14).[10]
یاد آن از دل خلق بزدای و بمحاو ای فراموش گردان [429, 12] = (L 259, 6).[11]

In the latter example the words ای فراموش گردان one would be inclined to consider as an explanatory sentence added by one of the copyists. Yet the text of the other Mss., where the

---

[1] In L the wording is slightly different: ترک شغل و مشغلهٔ دنیا بگرفت.
[2] In L the verb is omitted.
[3] L coincides with the Edition barring slight differences in the sequence of the words.
[4] L has گرفت instead of کفت.
[5] L has here (in the first case only): بگفتار آرند.
[6] L only omits وی.
[7] L has بگذار, instead of بمان.
[8] L has باز گذاشتی, instead of ماندی.
[9] The other Mss. used for the Edition have محوکرده.
[10] L has also محوکرده.
[11] L omits the words: بزدای و بمحاو ای.

REFERENCE BOOK

words بزدای و بمحاو ای are omitted and the words فراموش کردان retained, do not allow of such an interpretation.[1] Unfortunately, in the abstracts by Muḥammad Pārsā,[2] the passage in question does not occur. Anyhow, the verb is formed from the Arabic محو.

مشغول دل *one whose mind is occupied:*

برقّت کلام خود مشغول دل شده [20, 3] = (L 13, 11).[3]

نابیوس *unexpected, unusual:*

جایگاهی نابیوس [292, 14] = (L 180, 7).[4]

نگاه‌داشت *preservation, guarding:* [444, 20] = (L 268, 15).[5]

نهاد و برداشت '*putting down and picking up*': [454, 4] = (L 274, 4).

نیکو خواست *benevolence:* [148, 5] = (L 95, 7).

واخریدن *to deliver:* [265, 13] = (L 165, 18).

همیشگی *permanent:* [30, 4] = (L 20, 2).

یاد کرد *remembering, mentioning:* [106, 20, 21; 195, 4] = (L 70, 1 bis; 122, 23).[6]

یوسیدن *to seek, to solicit:*

جاه بیوسند ... [20, 10] = (L 13, 16).[7] Cf. in Persian dialects: my[8] 'Materials', I, II, *s.v.* جُستن.

Zhukovsky further mentions that 'Jullābī's style is not free from Arabic expressions'; that he uses 'Arabic expressions and words attributing to them meanings not current in Persian'; that 'through translating literally from Arabic, he introduces expressions foreign to the spirit of the Persian language.

---

[1] All the four other Mss. used by Zhukovsky being far younger than the Vienna Ms., I do not see any reason, why the interpretation proposed by him should be rejected. It only proves that the later copyists found in the original (or originals) from which they were copying the same unintelligible (or unusual) words together with a good explanation thereof, so they retained the latter and dropped the former. As Zh. does not give any filiation of the Mss. used by him, one cannot be sure that they are not copied, all or some of them, from the Vienna Ms., or its prototype, or some intermediate Ms.

[2] The author of *Faṣlu-l-Khiṭāb* (described in Rieu's Catalogue, 863), which consists of such abstracts from Jullābī's work.

[3] L omits دل.

[4] L has نامعهود.

[5] Written in one word in L, with the *iẓāfa* after it marked.

[6] L has in all the three cases یادکردن.

[7] L has جاه طمع دارد.

[8] Zhukovsky's.

Some instances of Arabic expressions, not generally used in Persian, are then noted by Zhukovsky, as occurring in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* such as:

باسرها *wholly, entirely*: [7, 15; 221, 12] = (L 6, 4; 139, 5).
لعمری *by my life! in truth*: [309, 6; 351, 2] = (L 189, 6; 213, 4).
مع هذا[1] *withal*; *notwithstanding*: [110, 8] = (L 72, 3).[2]
ای, less often یعنی (which is followed by an explanation in Arabic of some Arabic expression).[3]
اوراق *leaves* (*of a tree*): [287, 15] = (L 177, 18).
فشتان مابین *and there is a great difference between*: [158, 18; 230, 13; 484, 5] = (L 101, 16; 145, 4; 291, 12).
و مثلهم
و امثالهم } *and the like.*[4]

Zhukovsky finally points out that *Jullābī* often concludes his Persian arguments by a whole sentence in Arabic, which generally begins with لأَنَّ or فَ. In most cases it is impossible to say, whether these '*because*' and '*then*' belong to the author or have been bodily taken with the sentence quoted by him from the Arabic source he used for his work. More than a score of such instances are enumerated. One case, where لان has been replaced by its Persian equivalent ازانچ is quoted: [325, 9] = (L 198, 11).[1]

---

[1] The expression is, however, quite current in Persian.

[2] Omitted in L.

[3] The passages enumerated by Zh. in that connection are so numerous, that I abstain from reproducing them, the more so as یعنی is quite good Persian, and ای is not seldom used in Persian (mostly in combination with other Arabic expressions, such as أَیْ بِعِبَارَةٍ أُخْرىٰ '*or, in other words*', etc.), even in speech.

[4] I omit here the tedious enumeration of passages where these expressions are found, as well as that of the passages, where their Iranian equivalents و آنچه بدین ماند، مانند آن، مانند این are used by the author of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*. I also omit the enumeration of whole Arabic expressions and their Persian parallels, as noted by Zh., and of such Persian expressions as seemed to him to belong to the same category with regard to the construction.

* * *

As already said[2] the examples of the peculiarities of Jullābī's language, quoted in the preceding pages, have been bodily taken (barring such emendations, as imposed themselves, and omission of a few passages that seemed to have no direct bearing on the subject) from the part of Zhukovsky's Introduction left untranslated by Sidney Jerrold.[3] My purpose in doing so was twofold: in the first instance to make these interesting materials accessible to students of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* by supplementing Zhukovsky's quotations with exact references to page and line of a current Indian edition of the work[4]; in the second instance, to have at my disposal a sufficient number of examples, showing the peculiarities of the language used by the author of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, more especially such as would point to the local speech of his birthplace. In that respect, however, the results proved to be somewhat meagre, but not altogether disappointing. In the footnotes accompanying my translation of Zhukovsky's list a few of the more blatant peculiarities attributable to the influence of the local speech have been pointedly noted. They are, as said, very few, and the gravamen of the case does not so much lie with such isolated examples as with the general trend of the text characterized by minor details, such as the improper[5] use (and position) of particles and prepositions, which is analogous with that prevalent in *Tājīkī* (or *Kābulī*) Persian. To this we have to add the immoderate use of causative verbs inexistent in Standard Persian, the use of the verb آمدن as an auxiliary verb,[6] the occasional splitting of verbs.[7] All such deviations are recorded by Zhukovsky in his Introduction under the term 'peculiarities', and we have no means to ascertain whether he considered them as archaic, but such was probably the case.[8] From the moment, however, that I undertook my study of the kind of Persian used at present in Afghanistan,[1] I came to the firm conclusion that many of these peculiarities, usually considered as archaic, are nothing of the sort, and are not governed in any way by the factor of time, but belong to a certain locality, namely to the large strip of land extending from Bukhara and Samarqand to the confines of India, and comprising the present day Khorasan[2] and Afghanistan. Or, in other words, these 'peculiarities' are geographical, not historical. I think to have definitely proved elsewhere[3] 'the identity of the Tājikī language of Bukhara not only with the colloquial language of present day Afghanistan, but also with the 'old language of Herat',[4] as represented by the peculiarities of the *Tabaqātu-ṣ-ṣūfiyya* of Anṣārī. Unfortunately, Khurasan in the wider sense of the term[5] was always, and quite correctly so, considered to be 'the cradle of Persian literature', so that whatever peculiarities were found in the earlier works of Persian writers hailing from Khorasan, they were considered as natural idioms of Persian of a certain period, whilst, in reality, they were merely part and parcel of the local vernacular of all periods. In poetry such peculiarities[6] became less apparent owing to a certain rigidity in the versified sentence. They were also liable to be considered as instances of poetic licence, and as such to be discounted.

---

[1] L has پس.

[2] *v.s.* pp. 326-327.

[3] *v.s.* p. 326 and footnotes to the same page.

[4] *v.s.* note 1 on p. 327.

[5] From the point of view of Standard Persian.

[6] *v.s.* p. 348.

[7] See for that my 'Stray Notes on Kābulī Persian', pp. 28-29.

[8] Although his prolonged studies of Iranian dialects and particularly, his prolonged stay in Turkestan, when collecting materials for his monumental work on 'The Ruins of Old Merv', may have influenced him, which could account for the great circumspection shown by him in defining the forms discussed by him as 'peculiarities'.

In the earlier periods (to which belong the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* and its author) the intercourse between the parts of Iran comprised in the limits of present day Afghanistan and Persia proper was less hampered than it became since the influx of the Central Asian Turcs who, conquered India and the adjoining parts of Iran in the XVI c. A.D. and founded their independent empire, which became known as the Empire of the Great Moghuls. The influence of Central Asia with regard to language became paramount in the countries under their sway, and the Persian of Persia proper ceased to a great extent to exert the amount of influence it used to wield over the language of those countries.[7]

That state of things explains why the language of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* does not display even a greater number of peculiarities akin to the present day language of the mother-country of its author.

---

[1] The results of which are expounded in my 'Stray Notes on Kābulī Persian'.

[2] Previous to the establishment of the independent Durrānī dynasty (1747 A.D.) in Afghanistan, the western portion of that country belonged to Persia and was considered to be a part of Khorasan.

[3] In my 'Stray Notes on Kābulī Persian'.

[4] W. Ivanow. Tabaqat of Ansari in the Old Language of Herat, JRAS,1923.

[5] *v.s.* note 2.

[6] Except, of course, what regards particles and prepositions, as well as isolated words, unusual as far as Standard Persian is concerned.

[7] The language of Afghanistan does not seem however to have become entirely crystallized in its present form before the accession to power of the Barakzâi dynasty in the XIX c. A.D. and the foundation of the present day independent Afghan kingdom.

Other factors, however, such as *Jullābī's* extensive travels which also comprised Persia proper,[1] where he had occasion to hear Standard Persian spoken on every side[2] must have influenced his style. On the other hand, he could hardly have been influenced to any appreciable extent whatever by any literary productions of his time in Standard Persian, which were certainly scarce, if not altogether inexistent, the medium of expression being in his time chiefly, if not exclusively, Arabic.[3]

That circumstance fully explains one point, overlooked by Zhukovsky in his excursus on the peculiarities of *Jullābī's* language, namely the syntactical appearance of the phrase in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*.

The construction of the sentence in Persian is rather rigid as regards the place occupied by the subject and the predicate, the former always beginning, and the latter closing the sentence, or, in other words, a personal form of the verb indicates the end of the sentence and, so to say, plays the rôle of a full stop.[4] For the sake of greater emphasis, certain parts of the sentence

---

[1] The places which he says having visited are mentioned in the *Kashfū-l-Maḥjūb* in the following passages, as recorded by Zhukovsky in his Introduction (pp. 4-5):

Māvarannahr	Z h. 56 = L 37, 2; Z h. 476 (not 417, as given by Z h.) = L 287, 12.
Āzarbāijān	Z h. 64 = L 41, 14; Z h. 535 = L. 322, 2.
Bastām	Z h. 77 = L 50.
Khurasān	Z h. 77 = L 50, 5; Z h. 191 = L 120, 16; Z h. 434 = L 262, 3.
Nīshāpūr	Z h. 213 = L 134, 2 (here L has a superfluous گفت).
Sarakhs	Z h. 287 = L 177, 14.
Ṭūs	Z h. 301 = L 184, 20.
India	Z h. 110 = L 72, 8; Z h. 531 = L 320, 12.
Syria	Z h. 116 = L 75, 18; Z h. 209 = L 131, 16; Z h. 300 = L 184, 16 ff; Z h. 447 = L 270, 8.
Baghdād *Khuzistān* *Fārs*	Z h. 191 = L 120, 16.
Farghāna	Z h. 301 = L 185, 2.
Mayhana	Z h. 301 = L 185, 8.
Merv	Z h. 323 = L 197, 20; Z h. 524 = L 316, 9.
Iraq	Z h. 449 = L 271, 7.
Bukhara	Z h. 460 = L 277, 20.
Turkestan	Z h. 531 = L 320, 13.

[2] With the exclusion of *Māvarannahr*, India, *Farghāna*, Merv, Bukhara and Turkestan, the other places are either in Persia proper itself, or Persia has to be traversed to reach them from Ghaznī.

[3] Like Latin was in mediaeval Europe, or like Sanskrit still is in India the medium of intercourse between pandits from the North and their colleagues of the South, with the sole difference that Arabic was and is, at the same time, a living language.

[4] That order is not necessarily adhered to in poetry.

may occasionally be placed after the predicate. That is, however, what *Jullābī* does constantly in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*. A few examples may serve to show the trend of his construction:

و از حول و قوّت خود تبرّا کنم اندر کفتار و کردار Zh. 1, 12-13 = L 2, 9.[1]

که مرا این حادثه افتاد بدوبار Zh. 2, 3 = L 2, 14.

و دیکر کتابی کردم هم اندر طریقت تصوّف Zh. 2, 6 = L 2, 16.[2]

که مؤلف آن بدان فن و علم عالم بوده است و محقّق Zh. 2, 11 = L 3, 3.

حفظ آداب خداوند بود عزّ و جلّ Zh. 2, 14 = L 3, 5.

و تسلیم امور بخداوند سبحانه و تعالی باشد و نجات از آفتهای کوناکون Zh. 2, 17-18 = L 3, 7-8.

جز تسلیم چه روی باشد مر قضا را Zh. 3, 1-2 = L 3, 10.

از بند دفع کند اندر کلّ احوال وی Zh. 3, 2-3 = L 3, 11.

برمن واجب شد حق سؤال تو کزاردن[3] Zh. 3, 20 = L 3, 23–4, 1.

These examples, which could be multiplied, seem to show, if anything, a certain influence of Arabic, without, however, strictly adhering to the Arabic construction, where the predicate begins the sentence and is immediately followed upon by the subject (if any). Jullābī's construction lies between the two, neither being strictly Iranian, nor wholly Arabic.[4]

The plan and the scope of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* are specified by the author in the introductory part of the work as follows:

قال السائل و هو ابوسعید الهجویری بیان کن مرا اندر تحقیق طریقت تصوّف و کیفیّت مقامات ایشان و بیان مذاهب و مقالات ایشان و اظهار کن مرا رموز و اشارات ایشان و چکونکی محبّت خداوند عزّ و جلّ و کیفیت اظهار آن بر دلها و سبب حجاب عقول از کنه و ماهیّت آن و نفرت نفس از حقیقت آن و آرام روح باصفوت آن و آنچه بدین تعلّق دارد از معاملات آن[5]

---

[1] Zhukovsky's edition, page and line = Lahore edition, page and line, see for these abbreviations, pp. 326-327, *supra*.

[2] In L with a slightly different wording.

[3] L گذاردن.

[4] One must, however, bear in mind that this particular peculiarity of Jullābī's style has nothing whatever to do with the local speech of his native place and is shared by him with a great many writers of his epoch (and even later epochs), who were accustomed to write mostly in Arabic and wrote, as it were, only occasionally in Persian.

[5] Zh. 7 = L. 5; Nicholson's translation, pp. 6-7.

and also:

و مقصود تو معلوم کشت و سخن اندر غرض تو درین کتاب مقسوم کشت [1]

The last phrase explains, to a certain extent, the somewhat intricate plan of the work, of which Blochet[2] quite correctly says that it consists of two distinct parts. Personally, I am inclined to consider the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* as a mere *tazkira* of famous early *Ṣūfīs* similar to (or, rather, the prototype, and one of the chief sources, of) such works as 'Aṭṭār's *Tazkiratu-l--Awliyā* or Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt*,[3] with the sole difference that, as opposed to the latter two works, the part in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* dealing with the tenets of Ṣūfiism is very extensive,[4] and that it does not precede, but follows upon the chapters of the book concerned with the 'lifes of saints' grouped by their various categories. The first six chapters[5] of that part as well are of a general character.

The table of contents prefixed by Zhukovsky to his edition being a veritable synopsis of the book, we thought it best to give it here in its entirety, the more so as none of the Indian editions[6] has any table of contents whatever, and in Nicholson's translation the table of contents comprises only the headings of the chapters and does not contain the titles of their subdivisions.

That detailed table of contents is as follows:[7]

L 2–8	۱۱–۱	مقدّمهٔ مصنّف
L 8–14	۲۱–۱۱	باب اثبات العلم [8]
L 14–22	۳۳–۲۱	باب الفقر

---

[1] Zh. 1 = L 2; Nicholson's translation, p. 1.

[2] Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale, I, 262; see for that also Zhukovsky's Russian Introduction, p. 13, note 3.

[3] Both of whom have extensively drawn on the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* for the subject matter of their respective *tazkiras*, as well as several other authors of later times, like Dārā-Shukūh in his *Safīnatu-l-Awliyā* and *Muftī Ghulām Sarvar* in his *Khazīnatu-l-Aṣfiyā*.

[4] 200 pages in Zhukovsky's edition (= 120 pages in the Lahore ed. of 1342 A.H.–1923 A.D.).

[5] 78 pages in Zh. (= 50 pages in L.).

[6] The Samarqand edition (v. *supra*, pp. 316-317) has a detailed table of contents, which, although omitting individual names, coincides otherwise with the one given by Zh., but as it is even less accessible than Zhukovsky's edition, it need not be taken into account.

[7] The Arabic figures denote the pages of Zhukovsky's critical edition. The accompanying European figures with the letter L indicate the corresponding pages of the Lahore lithograph of 1923 (= 1342 A.H.): I maintained the former for the sake of completeness, and introduced the latter to facilitate reference.

[8] In Nicholson's translation the Chapters are numbered from I to XXV, beginning with the chapter 'On the Affirmation of Knowledge'.

L 22–32	۳۹—۳۴	باب التصوّف
L 32–42	۶۵—۳۹	باب مرقّعه داشتن
L 42–44	۶۸—۶۵	باب اختلافهم فی الفقر و الصفوة
L 44–50	۷۸—۶۸	باب بیان الملامة[1]
L 50–55	۸۵—۷۸	باب فی ذکر ائمّتهم من الصحابه و التابعین[2]
L 50–52	۸۱—۷۸	ابوبکر عبد الله بن عثمان الصدّیق
L 52-53	۸۲ - ۸۱	ابو حفص عمر بن الخطّاب
L 53-54	۸۴—۸۲	ابو عمرو عثمان بن عفّان
L 54-55	۸۵ - ۸۴	ابوالحسن علی بن ابی طالب
L 55–63	۹۷—۸۵	باب فی ذکر ائمّتهم من اهل البیت
L 55–57	۸۸—۸۵	ابو محمّد الحسن بن علی
L 57-58	۸۹ - ۸۸	ابو عبد الله الحسین بن علی بن ابی طالب
L 58–60	۹۲—۸۹	ابو الحسن علی بن الحسین بن علی بن ابی طالب
L 60–62	۹۴—۹۲	ابو جعفر محمّد بن علی بن الحسین بن علی بن ابی طالب
L 62-63	۹۷—۹۴	ابو محمّد جعفر بن علی بن الحسین بن علی الصادق
L 63–65	۹۹—۹۷	باب فی ذکر اهل الصّفّة
L 65–70	۱۰۷—۹۹	باب فی ذکر ائمّتهم من التابعین و الانصار
L 65-66	۱۰۱—۹۹	اویس قرنی
L 66-67	۱۰۳—۱۰۱	هرم بن حیّان
L 67–69	۱۰۵—۱۰۳	ابو علی الحسن بن الحسین البصری
L 69-70	۱۰۷—۱۰۵	سعید بن مسیّب
L 70–127	۲۰۲—۱۰۷	باب فی ذکر ائمّتهم من اتباع التابعین الی یومنا
L 70	۱۰۸ - ۱۰۷	حبیب عجمی
L 70-71	۱۰۹ - ۱۰۸	مالک بن دینار

---

[1] Here ends the first half of the general or theoretical part of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*.

[2] Here begins the historical or biographical (*tazkira*) part of the book.

L 71	۱۱۰ - ۱۰۹	ابو حليم حبيب بن سليم الراعى
L 72	۱۱۱ - ۱۱۰	ابو حازم المدنى
L 72-73	۱۱۲ - ۱۱۱	محمّد بن واسع
L 73–76	۱۱۷—۱۱۲	ابو حنيفة نعمان بن ثابت الخزّاز
L 76-77	۱۱۹—۱۱۷	عبد الله بن المبارك المروزى
L 77–80	۱۲۴—۱۱۹	ابو على فضيل بن عياض
L 80–82	۱۲۸—۱۲۴	ابو الفيض ذوالنون بن ابراهيم المصرى
L 82-83	۱۳۰—۱۲۸	ابو اسحق ابراهيم بن ادهم
L 83-84	۱۳۲—۱۳۰	بشر بن الحارث الحافى
L 84–86	۱۳۴—۱۳۲	ابو يزيد طيفور بن عيسى البسطامى
L 86-87	۱۳۶—۱۳۴	ابو عبد الله الحارث بن اسد المحاسبى
L 87-88	۱۳۷ - ۱۳۶	ابو سليمان داود بن نصير الطائى
L 88-89	۱۳۸ - ۱۳۷	ابو الحسن سرى بن المغلّس السقطى
L 89	۱۳۹ - ۱۳۸	ابو على شقيق بن ابراهيم الازدى
L 89-90	۱۴۱—۱۳۹	ابو سليمان عبد الرحمن بن عطيّة الدارانى
L 90-91	۱۴۲ - ۱۴۱	ابو محفوظ معروف بن فيروز الكرخى
L 91-92	۱۴۳ - ۱۴۲	ابو عبد الرحمن حاتم بن عنوان الاصمّ
L 92-93	۱۴۵—۱۴۳	ابو عبد الله محمّد بن ادريس الشافعى
L 93	۱۴۶ - ۱۴۵	ابو عبد الله احمد بن حنبل
L 93–95	۱۴۹—۱۴۶	ابو الحسن احمد بن ابى الحوارى
L 95–97	۱۵۱—۱۴۹	ابو حامد احمد بن خضرويه
L 97	۱۵۲ - ۱۵۱	ابو تراب عسكر بن الحصين النسفى
L 97-98	۱۵۴—۱۵۲	ابو زكريّا يحيى بن معاذ الرازى
L 98–100	۱۵۶—۱۵۴	ابو حفص عمر بن سالم النيسابورى الحدّاد
L 100	۱۵۸—۱۵۶	ابو صالح حمدون بن احمد بن عمّارة القصّار
L 100-101	۱۵۹—۱۵۷	ابو السرى منصور بن عمّار
L 101-102	۱۶۰ - ۱۵۹	ابو عبد الله بن عاصم الانطاكى
L 102-103	۱۶۱ - ۱۶۰	ابو محمّد عبد الله بن خبيق
L 103-104	۱۶۴—۱۶۱	ابو القاسم الجنيد بن محمّد بن الجنيد القواريرى
L 104-105	۱۶۶—۱۶۴	ابو الحسن احمد بن محمّد النورى

ابو عثمان سعید بن اسمعیل الحیری	١٦٩—١٦٦	L 105-107
ابو عبد الله احمد بن یحیی بن الجلا	١٧٠ - ١٦٩	L 107-108
ابو محمّد رویم بن احمد	١٧١ - ١٧٠	L 108
ابو یعقوب یوسف بن حسین الرازی	١٧٢ - ١٧١	L 108-109
ابو الحسن سمنون بن عبد الله الخواصّ	١٧۴—١٧٢	L 109-110
ابو الفوارس شاه بن شجاع الکرمانی	١٧۴	L 110
عمرو بن عثمان المکّی	١٧۵ - ١٧۴	L 110
ابو محمّد سهل بن عبد الله التستری	١٧٧—١٧۵	L 110-111
ابو عبد الله محمّد بن الفضل البلخی	١٧٧	L 111
ابو عبد الله محمّد بن علی الترمذی	١٧٩—١٧٧	L 111-113
ابوبکر محمّد بن عمر الوراق	١٨٠ - ١٧٩	L 113
ابو سعید بن احمد بن عیسی الخرّاز	١٨١ - ١٨٠	L 114
ابو الحسن علی بن محمّد الاصفهانی	١٨٢ - ١٨١	L 114-115
ابو الحسن محمّد بن اسمعیل خیر النّساج	١٨٣ - ١٨٢	L 115-116
ابو حمزة خراسانی	١٨۵—١٨٣	L 116
ابو العبّاس احمد بن مسروق	١٨۵	L 116-117
ابو عبد الله بن احمد بن اسمعیل المغربی	١٨٦ - ١٨۵	L 117
ابو علی الحسن بن علی الجوزجانی	١٨٧ - ١٨٦	L 117-118
ابو محمّد بن احمد الحسین الجریری	١٨٨ - ١٨٧	L 118-119
ابو العبّاس احمد بن محمّد بن سهل الادمی	١٨٩ - ١٨٨	L 119
ابو المغیث الحسین بن منصور الحلّاج	١٩٣—١٨٩	L 119-121
ابو اسحاق ابراهیم بن احمد الخواصّ	١٩۴ - ١٩٣	L 121-122
ابو حمزة البغدادی	١٩۴	L 122
ابوبکر محمّد بن موسی الواسطی	١٩۵ - ١٩۴	L 122-123
ابوبکر دُلف بن جحدر الشبلی	١٩٧—١٩۵	L 123-124
ابو محمّد بن جعفر بن نصیر الخلدی	١٩٧	L 124
ابو علی بن محمّد القاسم الرودباری	١٩٨ - ١٩٧	L 124-125

ابو العبّاس القاسم بن مهدى السيّارى	١٩٨ - ١٩٩	L 125
ابو عبد الله محمّد بن خفيف	١٩٩	L 125
ابو عثمان سعيد بن سلّام المغربى	١٩٩ - ٢٠٠	L 125-126
ابو القاسم ابراهيم بن محمّد بن محمود النصرآبادى	٢٠٠ - ٢٠١	L 126
ابو الحسن على بن ابراهيم الحصرى	٢٠١ - ٢٠٢	L 126-127
باب فى ذكر ائمّتهم من المتأخرين	٢٠٢—٢١۴	L 127–134
ابو العبّاس احمد بن محمّد القصّاب	٢٠٢—٢٠۴	L 127-128
ابو على الحسن بن محمّد على الدقّاق	٢٠۴	L 128
ابو الحسن على بن احمد الخرقانى	٢٠۴ - ٢٠۵	L 128-129
ابو عبد الله محمّد بن على المعروف بالداستانى	٢٠۵ - ٢٠٦	L 129
ابو سعيد فضل الله بن محمّد الميهنى	٢٠٦—٢٠٨	L 130-131
ابو الفضل محمّد بن الحسن الختّلى	٢٠٨ - ٢٠٩	L 131
عبد الكريم ابو القاسم بن هوازن القشيرى	٢٠٩ - ٢١٠	L 131-132
ابو العباس احمد بن محمّد الشقّانى	٢١٠ - ٢١١	L 132
ابو القاسم على الكركانى	٢١١ - ٢١٢	L 132-133
ابو احمد المظفّر بن احمد بن حمدان	٢١٢—٢١۴	L 133-134
باب فى ذكر رجال الصوفيّة من المتأخرين على الاختصار	٢١۴—٢١٨	L 134–137
آنچه بودند اندر شام و عراق	٢١۴ - ٢١۵	L 134-135
امّا از اهل فارس	٢١۵	L 135
امّا اهل قهستان و آذربايكان و طبرستان و كُمش	٢١۵	L 135
امّا از اهل كرمان	٢١۵	L 135
امّا از اهل خراسان	٢١٦	L 136
امّا از اهل ماوراء النهر	٢١٦	L 136
امّا از اهل غزنين و سكّان آن	٢١٧	L 136-137
باب فى فرق فرقهم و مذاهبهم و آياتهم و مقاماتهم و حكاياتهم	٢١٨—٢۴١	L 137–207
امّا المحاسبيّة	٢١٩—٢٢٨	L 137–143

L 137	۲۱۹	الكلام فى حقيقة الرضا
L 141	۲۲۴	الفرق بين المقام و الحال
L 143	۲۲۸	امّا القصّاريّة
L 143–147	۲۳۵--۲۲۸	امّا الطيفوريّة
L 144	۲۳۰	الكلام فى السكر و الصحو
L 147-148	۲۳۶ - ۲۳۵	امّا الجنيديّة
L 148–153	۲۴۴–۲۳۶	امّا النوريّة
L 148	۲۳۶	الكلام فى حقيقة الايثار
L 153–165	۲۶۵–۲۴۴	امّا السهليّة
L 153	۲۴۵	الكلام فى حقيقة النفس و معنى الهوى
L 157	۲۵۱	الكلام فى مجاهدات النفس
L 162	۲۶۰	الكلام فى حقيقة الهوى
L 165–190	۳۱۱–۲۶۵	امّا الحكيميّة
L 165	۲۶۵	الكلام فى اثبات الولاية
L 170	۲۷۶	الكلام فى اثبات الكرامات
L 172	۲۷۸	الكلام فى الفرق بين المعجزات و الكرامات
L 174	۲۸۲	الكلام فى اظهار جنس المعجزه على يدى من يدّعى الالهيّة
L 178	۲۹۰	الكلام فى ذكر كراماتهم
L 185	۳۰۳	الكلام فى تفضيل الانبياء على الاولياء
L 187	۳۰۷	الكلام فى تفضيل الانبياء و الاولياء على الملائكة و المومنين ايضا
L 190–193	۳۱۷–۳۱۱	امّا الخرّازية
L 190	۳۱۱	الكلام فى الفناء و البقاء
L 193–197	۳۲۳–۳۱۷	امّا الخفيفية
L 194	۳۱۹	الكلام فى الغيبة و الحضور
L 197–202	۳۳۳–۳۲۳	امّا السيارية
L 197	۳۲۴	الكلام فى الجمع و التفرقه
L 198	۳۲۵	امّا التفرقة فى الحكم
L 202–207	۳۴۱–۳۳۳	امّا الحلوليّة
L 203	۳۳۵	الكلام فى الروح

كشف الحجاب الاوّل فى معرفة الله تعالى .. .. ۳۴۱–۳۵۶ L 207–215
كشف الحجاب الثانى فى التوحيد .. .. ۳۵۶–۳۶۷ L 215–221
كشف الحجاب الثالث فى الايمان .. .. ۳۶۷–۳۷۴ L 221–225
كشف الحجاب الرابع فى الطهارة .. .. ۳۷۴–۳۸۶ L 225–233
باب التوبة و ما يتعلّق بها .. .. ۳۷۸–۳۸۶ L 227–233
كشف الحجاب الخامس فى الصلوة .. .. ۳۸۶–۴۰۴ L 233–244
باب المحبّة و ما يتعلّق بها .. .. ۳۹۲–۴۰۴ L 236–244
كيفية المحبّة من الله تعالى باوليائه و من اوليائه
الى حضرته .. .. ۳۹۶ .. L 239
كشف الحجاب السادس فى الزكوة .. .. ۴۰۴–۴۱۳ L 244–249
باب الجود و السخاوة .. .. ۴۰۸–۴۱۳ L 246–249
كشف الحجاب السابع فى الصوم .. .. ۴۱۳–۴۲۲ L 249–254
باب الجوع و ما يتعلّق بها .. .. ۴۱۹–۴۲۲ L 252–254
كشف الحجاب الثامن فى الحجّ .. .. ۴۲۲–۴۳۲ L 254–260
باب المشاهدات .. .. .. ۴۲۷–۴۳۲ L 257–260
كشف الحجاب التاسع فى الصحبة مع آدابها و احكامها .. ۴۳۲–۴۷۹ L 260–288
باب آدابهم فى الصحبة .. .. ۴۳۹–۴۴۵ L 265–268
باب آداب الاقامة فى الصحبة .. ۴۴۵–۴۴۹ L 268–271
باب الصحبة فى السفر و آدابه .. ۴۴۹–۴۵۳ L 271–273
باب آدابهم فى الاكل .. .. ۴۵۳–۴۵۷ L 273–275
باب نومهم فى السفر و الحضر .. ۴۵۷–۴۶۲ L 275–278
باب آدابهم فى الكلام و السكوت .. ۴۶۲–۴۷۰ L 278–283
باب آدابهم فى التزويج و التجريد .. ۴۷۰–۴۷۹ L 283–288
كشف العاشر فى بيان منطقهم و حدود الفاظهم
و حقائق معانيهم .. .. .. ۴۷۹–۵۰۸ L 288-305
فمن ذلك الحال و الوقت و الفرق بينهما ۴۸۰ .. L 289
و من ذلك المقام و التمكين و الفرق بينهما ۴۸۴ .. L 291
و من ذلك المحاضرة و المكاشفة و الفرق بينهما ۴۸۷ .. L 293
و من ذلك القبض و البسط و الفرق بينهما ۴۸۸ .. L 293
و من ذلك الانس و الهيبة و الفرق بينهما ۴۹۰ .. L 294
و من ذلك القهر و اللطف و الفرق بينهما ۴۹۲ .. L 296

و من ذلك النفى و الاثبات و الفرق بينهما	۴۹۴	L 297
و من ذلك المسامرة و المحادثة و الفرق بينهما	۴۹۶	L 298
و من ذلك علم اليقين و عين اليقين و حق اليقين و الفرق بينهم	۴۹۷	L 298
و من ذلك العلم و المعرفة و الفرق بينهما	۴۹۸	L 299
و من ذلك الشريعة و الحقيقة و الفرق بينهما	۴۹۸	L 299
عباراتى كه استعارت پذيرد اندر كلام ايشان	۵۰۰	L 300
الفاظى كه اندر توحيد خداوند تعالى استعمال كنند	۵۰۱	L 301
عباراتى كه بشرح حاجتمند باشند	۵۰۲	L 302
كشف الحجاب الحادى عشر فى السماع و بيان انواعه	۵۰۸–۵۴۶	L 305–328
باب سماع القرآن و ما يتعلّق بها	۵۱۰	L 307
باب سماع الشعر و ما يتعلّق بها	۵۱۷	L 312
باب سماع الاصوات و الالحان	۵۲۰	L 314
باب احكام السماع	۵۲۴	L 316
باب اختلافهم فى السماع	۵۲۹	L 318
باب مراتبهم فى حقيقة السماع	۵۳۰	L 319
باب الوجد و الوجود و التواجد و مراتبه	۵۳۸	L 323
باب الرقص	۵۴۱	L 325
النظر فى الاحداث	۵۴۲	L 325
باب الخرق	۵۴۲	L 325
باب آداب السماع	۵۴۴–۵۴۶	L 327-328

No data of any historical worth, which could enable us to define more closely the time of Jullābī's arrival in India can be found in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*. Details regarding his personal life are also extremely meagre: the titles of his other works, of which none seems to have survived, are scattered through the book and have been recorded in the shape of a list both by Nicholson[1] and Zhukovsky.[2] The names of places visited by him during his extensive travels are given by Jullābī[3] throughout the book.[3] Nowhere, however, does he mention in what order and when these places were visited by him. No names of temporal rulers of his time are given anywhere. Nor does he anywhere mention the time and the reasons of his settling in India.

---

[1] In the Introduction to his translation.

[2] In the Russian Introduction to his edition.

[3] A detailed list of them is given by Zhukovsky in his Introduction. See also above note 1, p. 364.

One passage in the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, however, is important in that respect throwing some light on his life in India and enabling us indirectly to draw some tentative conclusions as to the time of the composition of the work under discussion. The passage runs:

'My Shaykh had further traditions concerning him,[1] but I could not possibly set down more than this (*andar waqt-i man ḍíqí búd ú bísh az ín mumkin na-shud* [2]), my books having been left at Ghazna—may God guard it!—while I myself had become a captive among uncongenial folk (*dar miyán-i nájinsán* [3]) in the district of Laháwur, which is a dependency of Multán. God be praised both in joy and sorrow!'[4]

The reading '*Laháwur*' must have been taken by Nicholson from one or the other of the India Office or British Museum Mss., used by him to check the text of the Lahore lithograph (from which his translation was made), which has:

و من اندر دیار هند در بلدهٔ لهارنپور که از مضافات مولتان است الخ ۰

Thus: *Lahāranpūr* or *Lohāranpūr*.

The 1923 Lahore lithograph chiefly used by us in the present sketch, along with Zhukovsky's edition, has:

و من اندر دیار هند در بلدهٔ بهنور که از مضافات ملتان است الخ ۰

Thus: *Bihnūr* or *Bahnūr*.

The 1931 Lahore lithograph repeats the preceding.

The Samarqand lithograph has:

بلدهٔ لهانور که الخ ۰

Thus: *Lahānūr*

Zhukovsky's edition, based on the oldest Ms. of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*,[5] has merely:

و من اندر دیار هند درمیان ناجنسان گرفتار مانده الخ ۰

Two of the secondary Mss. used by Zhukovsky add: در بلدهٔ لهانور که از مضافات ملتانست, as given by the editor in a footnote.[6]

Of the five Mss. of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Mss. Nos. 1149,[7] 1151 [8] and 1152 [9] have got بلدهٔ لهانور thus, once more, *Lahānūr*, and Mss. 1150 [10] and 403 (Curzon Collection) [11] omit the mention of the place altogether.[12]

---

[1] Abū Halīm Habīb b. Salīm ar-Rā'ī.

[2] The transcription is Nicholson's.

[3] v. preceding note.

[4] Nicholson, *o.c.*, p. 91.

[5] v. *supra*, p. 319-320.

[6] His Mss., B and D, v.s. p. 320.

[7] Fol. 54.

[8] Fol. 52*r*.

[9] Fol. 78, v.

[10] Fol. 63 *r*.

[11] Fol. 62 *r*.

[12] My thanks are due here to Prof. M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq who with his usual unfailing courtesy had copied out for me the

Of the two Urdū translations accessible to me, one[1] omits the whole passage quoted above from Nicholson's translation, and the other[2] omits the name of the place, saying merely:

اور میں علاقۂ ملتان میں ناجنسوں کے ساتھہ گرفتار تھا ۔

To sum up, we have before us four different spellings of the name of the 'township' (بلده) in the district of Multan in India, where the author of the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb* began[3] writing his book and where he 'found himself stranded'[4] in 'uncongenial surroundings': (1) *Lahāwur*; (2) *Lahāranpūr* (or *Lohāranpūr*); (3) *Bihnūr* (or *Bahnūr*), and (4) *Lahānūr*.

Both Nicholson[5] and Zhukovsky,[6] who had before them only one spelling each, take the word to stand for 'Lahore'.

We learn from the Imperial Gazetteer of India[7] that 'Lahore City was not at this time[8] a place of great importance' and 'was governed by viceroys as the headquarters of a province, but during the reign of Masúd III (1099–1114), it was made the seat of the government of the[9] empire'. Its connexion with Multan seems to have been only incidental and of very brief duration, when 'in 1034 Lahore was seized by Nialtigín, the revolted governor of Multán. He, however, was expelled, and in 1036 Lahore was made the capital of the Ghaznivid dominions east of the Indus'.[10]

We see from the above that, though a town of little importance in the days of our author, Lahore was never really (and hardly could ever have been, seeing the distance that separates them) 'a dependency of Multan'. Also, at the time of its temporary seizure by the rebel governor of Multan (1034 A.D. = 426-27 A.H.) Jullābī was certainly still a very young man and could hardly have been writing his great work, the outcome

---

respective passages both in the five above-mentioned Mss. and in the Samarqand edition.

[1] By *Shāh Zahīr Aḥmad Zahīrī*, p. 142.

[2] By *Mawlānā Shamsu-l-Hind Izadī*, p. 104.

[3] The passage in question occurs quite early in the book: p. 91 of Nicholson's translation, corresponding to p. 110 in Zhukovsky's edition, where the text occupies 546 pages. It is found on pp. 65, 72 and 72 of the above-mentioned Lahore lithographs of 1903, 1923 and 1931, and on p. 115 of the Samarqand lithograph.

[4] That is how I would be inclined to understand *giriftār mānda* or *g. shuda būdam* in this place: Zhukovsky in his Introduction uses on p. 21 the Russian equivalent of 'detained' and on p. 30 speaks of Jullābī's 'captivity' (cf. also Sidney Jerrold's abridged translation, *o.c.*, pp. 487-88.

[5] In his Preface.

[6] In his Introduction, v. note 4, *supra*.

[7] Vol. XVI, 1908, under Lahore City. History, pp. 106-107.

[8] i.e. in the XIc. A.D.

[9] Ghaznavid.

[10] *ibid.*, p. 106. The Punjab District Gazetteer, Vol. XXXA, pp. 26-27 merely repeats in this place the Imperial Gazetteer of India.

of a lifetime of travels and study. One would be more inclined to think of it as the work of his old age, completed, probably, a short time before his death, if 'Lahore' is really meant in this place. Yet, the so very different spellings of the name of the town and the reference to it as 'a dependency of Multan', arouse some doubts as to the identity of the place. These doubts, though not entirely dispelled, are somewhat mitigated by the existence of a very great variety of very strange ways of spelling the name 'Lahore'.[1]

We find, in fact, the following spellings in the Dīvān of *Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān*[2]:

Lūhūr.[3]
Lahāvūr.[4]
Lūhāvūr.[5]
Lāwhūr.[6]
Lāhūr.[7]
Lūwhūr.[8]
Lūhāvar.[9]

As already mentioned[10] Zhukovsky takes it for granted that 'Lahore' is meant in the passage under discussion and draws from it the conclusion that the passage in question belongs to 'an earlier period'[11] of Jullābī's life, implying by it that our author was at Lahore twice: once as a young man, when he found the surroundings so uncongenial that he had to mention the fact in the text of his book, in which he is, otherwise, extremely chary of any personal reflexions, and for the second time, when he is known to have settled for good in the very same place, to have built there a mosque, to have died and been buried there, and to have been extremely popular there both in his lifetime and for many centuries after his death.

I cannot think that that reasoning can be accepted. First of all, it is unlikely that a man dissatisfied with his surroundings in a place where he is 'stranded' would be inclined to return to the self-same place in order to settle there definitely. It is true that Zhukovsky expresses the opinion[12] that '*according to certain indications*[13] his arrival and sojourn at Lahore were due to direct recommendation of his director, *Abū 1-l-Fażl-i Khattalī*[1] I was, however, unable to find any such indications either in the passage devoted by the author to his said spiritual guide,[2] nor in the passages, where reference is made to India.[3]

---

[1] To which my attention was attracted by Prof. M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq, to whom I deem it my duty to express my heartfelt thanks.

[2] In the article by Mzā. Md. b. 'Abdul-Wahhāb Qazwīnī in the JRAS. for October, 1905.

[3] *ibid.*, p. 14 (of the separate reprint) and p. 18.

[4] *ibid.*, p. 15 (twice) and p. 17.

[5] *ibid.*, p. 15.

[6] *ibid.*, p. 16.

[7] *ibid.*, p. 17.

[8] *ibid.*, p. 17.

[9] *ibid.*, p. 17.

[10] v. *supra*, p. 61 and note 6, there.

[11] Russian Introduction, p. 30 (Sidney Jerrold, *o.c.*, p. 468).

[12] Introduction p. 30 (= Sidney Jerrold, p. 488).

[13] The italics are ours.

If Jullābī, which is quite possible and even very probable, had visited India in his younger years, he would hardly have remained for any length of time in a place which did not appeal to him, nor would he have had time to start writing an important book on such an educational journey. We would rather expect him to be very much on the move, leaving as soon as possible places devoid of interest, prolonging his stay as long as circumstances permitted in places of pleasant associations, absorbing new impressions and acquainting himself with the ways and manners of religious men of the country.

In the passage that interests us we find him, however, in India, already deeply immersed in the composition of his magnum opus. The only conclusion we can draw from it is that his wanderings are finished, that he has come to India to settle there for good and that he puts his pen to paper to record the impressions and experiences of a lifetime. The question arises—where ? If at Lahore, then not in Multan district, if in the district of Multan, then not at Lahore.

Now, we have at our disposal four different spellings of the place in India where that particular passage was written: (1) لهاور[4]; (2) لهانور[5]; (3) بهنور, [6] and (4) لهارنپور.[7]

One of the most striking peculiarities in the Indian *taʻlīq* writing is the absence of any difference in size between an initial *lām* and a dotted *markaz.*[8] The initial *bā* or *tā* is, therefore, easily confused with an initial *lām*, or vice versa. The shape of the 4th of our spellings makes one think that لهارنپور could be a misreading, say, for بهارتپور (ʻBhāratpūr')[9] or even بهاولپور (ʻBahāwalpūr'), substituting a *vāw* for the *rā* of لهارنپور, were it not that the present capital of the state of that name was founded only in the middle of the XVIII century.[10] But it actually is in the vicinity of Multan.[11]

---

[1] The English translation has "Abdu'l".

[2] Zh. 208 = L 131.

[3] Zh. 110 (= L 72); 313 (= L 192); 337 (= L 205); 399 (= L 241); 522 (= L 315), and 531 (= L 320).

[4] Nicholson.

[5] Zhukovsky.

[6] Lahore lithograph of 1923.

[7] Lahore lithograph of 1903, on which Nicholson's translation is based, but the reading in which he seemingly did not take into consideration.

[8] In Persian *nastaʻlīq* an intial *lām* is three points in height, and a *markaz* one and a half point.

[9] Not that it could have had anything in common with the present-day place of that name in Eastern Rajputana.

[10] See for that ʻImperial Gazetteer of India' under ʻBahawalpur'.

[11] Some 75 miles distant.

Leaving alone the question of the correct reading of the name of the place, of which Jullābī speaks so unflatteringly, we may conclude with a certain degree of probability that Lahore was not meant in this place, whatever that place was. We also may infer from what has been said that, before making up his mind to settle definitely at Lahore, Jullābī had tried first one or two, or several, places in India with that intention.

As has already been noted,[1] one group of Mss.[2] and lithographs discussed in the present sketch contains the words در بلدهٔ (?) که از مضافات مولتان است, and the other omits them.[3] The question presents itself as to whether the above words constitute an interpolation by the copyist of the original Ms. from which the first group is derived, or an omission by the scribe who wrote the original of the second group? One would be inclined to think that the latter is the case. Why should a copyist, in fact, make such an interpolation, especially a twofold one, indicating not merely the name of a town (whatever that name may have been), but also the district in which that town was situated? As an indirect argument in favour of our view may also be considered the fact that the Mss. (and lithographs) containing the reference to town and district preponderate in number, while those omitting it constitute a meagre minority.[4] It must be observed that the presence or absence of the sentence in question in certain Mss. does not at all indicate that all the Mss. of the one category are derived from one and the same original. One is rather entitled to suppose that, in our case, the Mss. containing the reference ascend to two or more originals, whilst those which omit it, being few in number, may easily be descended from one and the same defective original.

The conclusion that may be derived from the above lengthy, but necessary explanation is that, apparently, Jullābī, as already stated, came to settle in India and not necessarily at Lahore, in which place he ultimately settled for good. That would seem to dispose of Zhukovsky's hypothesis of Lahore having been the goal indicated to Jullābī by his spiritual guide.[1]

---

[1] pp. 374-375.

[2] Mss. B and D used by Zhukovsky for his edition (v. *supra*, p. 320); one or more Mss. used by Nicholson for his translation, as well as the 1903 Lahore lithograph; the R.A.S.B. Mss. Nos. 1149, 1151 and 1152; the Lahore lithographs of 1923 and 1931, and the Samarqand lithograph. Probably also some of the Mss. unaccessible to us (v. enumeration on pp. 324-325, *supra*).

[3] The old Vienna Ms. on which is based Zhukovsky's edition. (The Mss. C and E used by him are defective and the folios on which the passage in question occurs seem to be missing); R.A.S.B. Mss. Nos. 1150 and 403 (Curzon collection).

[4] Remain the Mss. inaccessible to us in the great libraries of Europe, some nine in number (v. list on pp. 324-325, *supra*), but, even if the inverse ratio should happen to be found in them, the Mss. containing the reference would be in the majority.

All these considerations make us think that the *Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb*, which seems to have been Jullābī's swan-song, was written, without any important interruptions, towards the end of his life.

As regards the date of Jullābī's death, which seemed doubtful to Zhukovsky,[2] we can, with certain reservations, accept the date given in the inscription on his tomb,[3] unless some new data should be discovered shedding more light on that question.

The fact is that the only tangible, although not absolutely certain, evidence is found in the inscriptions on the buildings surrounding the shrine of Jullābī[4] at Lahore. They all give the date as 465, and are found over the entrance to the mosque near the shrine, in the shape of a chronogram on the gate of a sitting room near the *Khānqāh*, and, again on the inner gate of the *Khānqāh*.[5]

Calcutta, 25*th July*, 1941.

---

[1] v. *supra*, pp. 376-377.

[2] pp. 29-30 of his Russian Introduction (left untranslated by Sidney Jerrold), where he discusses the dates given by Dārā-Shukūh in his *Safīnatu-l-Awliyā*, in the *Riyāẓu-l-Awliyā* of Bakhtāwar-Khān, in Mīr Ghulām-ʻAlī Balgrāmī's *Ma'āṣiru-l-Kirām* and in Ghulam Muḥammad Lāhurī's *Khazīnatu-l-Aṣfiyā*, without coming to any definite conclusion.

[3] See for that J. Horowitz, 'A List of published Muhamedan Inscriptions of India', in the 'Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica' for 1911 p. 102 under the heading *Lahore*, Nos. 900–902. It should be noted, however, that, as Horowitz himself says 'inscriptions found in India that bear earlier dates than the last decades of the sixth century of the Hijra can be shown either to have been imported into India from other countries . . . . . ; or else to have been executed long after the date that they bear', and here he mentions, as an example, 'Nos. 900–902 (Lahore) dated 465'. My thanks are due in this place once more to Prof. Mahfuz-ul-Haq for drawing my attention to Dr. Horowitz's article.

[4] Or *Dātā Ganj-bakhsh*, as he is called nowadays in India.

[5] v. note 3, above.

Paper received 26-7-1941.
,, *published* 30-11-1942.

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.
Volume VIII, 1942.
ARTICLE NO. 10.

The Rājāvāḍī (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇasena Deva.
(Additions and Corrections.)

By N. K. BHAṬṬAŚĀLĪ.

Dr. Randle's edition of the plate, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 1 ff., was improved considerably by the emendations of Dr. N. P. Chakravartī, Editor of the *E.I.* In my edition of the plate published above, pp. 1 ff., I think I could effect some improvements over the readings of Drs. Randle and Chakravartī. Distribution of the reprints of my article among the scholars of Bengal brought in some suggestions for further improvement, notably from Prof. Dineśa Chandra Bhaṭṭāchāryya, M.A., of the Hooghly College. I must express my gratefulness to this keen-sighted scholar for his painstaking labour of love in going through my paper so scrutinizingly and for sending me corrections and suggestions for improvement in reading, many of which are incorporated in the note below.

Page 21, bottom: All things considered, it is best to leave the reading as मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च । So, the emendation goes and सुश्रीदेवी also disappears.

TEXT. ŚLOKA 1: Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya also supports the reading देवस्त्वां स, as made out by Dr. Randle. I concur. The translation would therefore be: 'The Five-faced god, on whose lap is his beloved Gaurī like a streak of lightning on the bosom of the autumn clouds; whose person assumed variegated appearance by holding (the god) Hari by a half of his body; who holds faces which are awesome with the brilliance of the three eyes resplendent like the sun;—may that god, the subduer of the demon Gaja, advance your affairs.'

ŚLOKA 2: Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya suggests अमृतप्राघारधारागृहम् । प्राघारः means 'trickling out'.

ŚLOKA 7: Last line of the verse: For यस्यातीव read यस्येतीव । यस्य + इति + इव । व्यात्यापि is found on both the plates. Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya says that this must be corrected to व्याप्यापि ।

ŚLOKA 10: My reading of the last two lines of this śloka was as follows:—

चक्रे यन्मयजन्मनिस्सहमिलन्निद्रानुबन्धच्छलात् ।
कृष्टेनाधिपयोधिकञ्चुकमिव त्यक्तं प्रमुग्धं वपुः ॥

Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya proposes to correct कृष्टेन into कृष्णेन and त्यक्तं into त्यक्त्वा। He would explain the two lines thus:—

कृष्णेन (विष्णुना) अधिपयोधि (पयोधौ, अव्ययीभावसमासः). प्रमुग्धं वपुः कञ्चुकमिव निःसहमिलन्निद्रानुबन्धच्छलात् त्यक्त्वा यन्मयजन्म (लक्ष्मणसेनमयं जन्म) चक्रे (कृतं)।

Translation: Kṛṣṇa, leaving his unconscious body like a gown in the ocean (His bed), under the pretext of falling irresistibly into an unbroken sleep, effected his birth as Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

If this explanation is accepted, my remarks about the painful birth of Lakṣmaṇa Sena cannot stand.

Śloka 11: Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya wants to read प्रतिपदमुपदाश्चक्रिरे in the second line in place of प्रतिसदनपदाश्चक्रिरे। This reading was suggested by Dr. Chakravartī also in the *E.I.* Dr. Chakravartī explains the line thus: 'The King of Kaliṅga, accompanied by his wives, often presented gifts to him (even) when he (Lakṣmaṇa Sena) was young.' Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya understands the line to mean that frequent presents of damsels were made to him (Lakṣmaṇa Sena) by the King of Kaliṅga, even when the former was in his first youth.

Śloka 13: The text of the śloka, as made out by me, is given below.

यत्रारामद्रुमदलरुचा शैवलिन्यर्कंगन्ति
शस्यव्याजाज्जयपदगुणे येषु रोमाञ्चिता भूः।
प्राणान्मुञ्चत्यवनिपतयो नो च नर्य्याननेन
ग्रामास्ते ते सपदि ददिरे कोटिशः शासनानि ॥

The criticism of Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya made me look into the estampages of the plate again. Dr. Randle suggested शैवलिन्यर्द्धभ्रष्टङ्गाः। Dr. N. P. Chakravartī proposed शैवलिन्यूर्द्धगङ्गा। Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya suggests शैवलिन्यर्थगम्या or शैवलिन्यर्थगर्भा। I think the correct reading is शैवलिन्यर्द्धगङ्गा°। शैवलिनी means a river and not moss. The meaning is: 'Where the brooks had assumed half the sacredness of the Ganges by the beauty of the trees of the groves.'

In the second line, read जयपदगुणैर्येषु... ।

Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya's suggestion for the latter half of the third line is नो पुनर्य्याननेन। The meaning would be,—the princes would give up their lives, but not these villages. अनेन = लक्ष्मणसेनेन ।

In the second line Prof. Bhaṭṭāchāryya suggests जनपदगुणौर्येषु . . . which is the reading adopted by Dr. Randle. But the letter after ज is clearly य and not न ।

Paper received 29-10-1942.
,, *published* 30-11-1942.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE MINISTER AS A KING-MAKER (Kitabistan, 1941). By DR. ISVARA TOPA. 8vo. 162 pp.

Dr. Topa's handy work has been enriched by a foreword from the late Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari in which he points out that 'Dr. Topa had every reason to congratulate himself on the task of synthetizing in an excellent manner the basic concepts and principles of the Arthaśāstra into a system of political thought'. The Arthaśāstra is not so much a work on political science as it is on governmental art. Dr. Topa has undoubtedly succeeded in embodying the principles underlying the governmental precepts in simple and elegant style and presenting a valuable running commentary on Kauṭilya's monumental śāstra. But one would have wished the author to notice the different chronological theories relative to Kauṭilya in his introduction.

It is certainly helpful to grasp the full significance of the governmental maxims when once the epoch of the political background against which they stand is at least reasonably determined. The author has, however, taken 'Visṇugupta Kauṭilya' as 'the minister of Candragupta Maurya'. But he has not given us any full reason for his arriving at this conclusion.

Secondly, the student of the subject would have liked him to refer more to the original Sanskrit text than to the translations of the same. Barring these the author deserves all commendation for the knowledge that he has added to the rich store of Kauṭilyan scholarship.

J. C. DE.

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

10560

110560

A. 8
18

NOTICE

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters is a continuation of the following four periodicals published by the Society:

Asiatic Researches, I–XX, 1788–1839.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I–LXXIII, 1832–1904.

Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I–XL, 1865–1904.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, I–XXX, 1905–1934.

Single numbers are charged for at the rate of 8 annas for each 16 pages or part of 16 pages text, and for each plate, map, table, etc., not in the text. Postage extra.

Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal receive the current numbers of the **Journal** gratuitously, by virtue of their membership, and, if ordering back issues direct from the Society, have a right to a discount of 25% on their prices.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal publishes also:

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Science, since 1935.
Year-Book of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, since 1935.
Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, since 1905.
Bibliotheca Indica, a series of Oriental Works, since 1849.
Catalogues of Manuscripts.
Separate reprints of single articles in the **Journal.**
Miscellaneous publications.

The publications, information about them, and price lists giving details, are obtainable, on application, from the Society or its Agents.

A number of complete volumes or loose numbers of the older periodicals of the Society are still available for sale.

Revised prices of loose numbers of the Journal published by the Society.

All previous prices as printed on the issues of the various "Journals" published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal are cancelled.

Loose numbers will until further notice be sold at the fixed rate of eight annas per unit.

Units are calculated on the basis of one for each 16 pages or part of 16 pages text, and one for each plate, table, or map not in the text, contained in any number.

All old sterling equivalents cancelled. Postage extra.

Obtainable from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 1, Park Street, Calcutta, or from the Society's Agents:—

MESSRS. LUZAC & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.
M. PAUL GEUTHNER, 13, Rue Jacob, Paris, VI^{e}.
BUCHHANDLUNG OTTO HARRASSOWITZ, 14, Querstrasse, Leipzig.
MESSRS. THACKER, SPINK & Co., 3, Esplanade, East, Calcutta.
MESSRS. THE MOORE-COTTRELL SUBSCRIPTION AGENCIES, New York, U.S.A.

Residents of Europe should order from the local Agents.

When ordering direct from the Society the following rules should be observed:—

Orders should be addressed to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and not to any Official by name or title.

All Cheques, Money Orders, etc., should be made payable to the "Treasurer, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal".

Orders for books should be accompanied by a full name and address, legibly written, and should be sent on a separate sheet of paper containing no other communication.

In India books are supplied by V.-P.P.

A. 8
18

64324

CONTENTS

Page.

5. CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.
A few Types of Sedentary Games prevalent in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District in Assam 151
(*Published separately, October 26th, 1942.*)

6. REV. J. GERGAN *and* REV. WALTER ASBOE.
A Thousand Tibetan Proverbs and Wise Sayings with short Explanations of obscure Phrases 157
(*Published separately, October 26th, 1942.*)

7. GEORGE N. ROERICH.
The Epic of King Kesar of Ling 277
With Plate 5.
(*Published separately, October 31st, 1942.*)

8. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.
Two Clay Figures of Kesar (Gesar) and Ḥbrug-mo by a Tibetan Artist 313
With Plate 6.
(*Published separately, October 31st, 1942.*)

9. L. S. DUGIN.
The Kashfu-l-Maḥjūb of Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Jullābī 315
(*Published separately, November 30th, 1942.*)

10. N. K. BHAṬṬAŚĀLĪ.
The Rājāvāḍī (Bhāwāl) Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva. (Additions and Corrections) 381
(*Published separately, November 30th, 1942.*)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS 385

CALCUTTA:—Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Printed
by G. E. Bingham, Baptist Mission Press, 41A Lower Circular Road.

Compiled
1999-2000

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFRENCE BOOK

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

OF T